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New Republic

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

EVEN GOP Congressmen sense that the do-nothing policy on inflation will cause trouble. But they are supremely confident of election. In the Senate they invited Southerners to start a filibuster. In the House last week they arrogantly took a three-day recess while the Taft housing bill was locked in the Rules Committee. Their one great object is to quit.

But inflation is a new kind of issue. It is as simple as the price of bread and eggs and milk and $1.25-a-pound hamburger. The public is sore. Where it hurts politically is in the border-line constituencies, where party control trembles in the balance. Republican candidates are howling with pain. They complain Truman's remedies are not the right ones but that he gives the impression of wanting to do something about prices while the Republicans don't.

Textbook for the inflation debate is the 100-page "Midyear Economic Report" of the three-man Council of Economic Advisers, which Truman sent to Congress last week. It is temperate and comprehensive. It says in brief that the US is in a hell of a fix. Truman's increasing willingness to follow this Council is about his biggest merit. His triple veto of tax reduction was gallant in the face of the election.

The Council doesn't try to blame one side or another for inflation. It says we had the thing pretty well licked until the government took three actions. First was the enormous increase in the defense program. Second, the enormous expenditure for foreign aid under the Marshall Plan. And third, Congress' chucking of $5 billion into the spending stream in tax reduction. The Council justifies the defense and foreign-aid program, not the tax cut. But, in any case, voluntary action alone can't hold down the price balloon.

Last week the Red-scare issue definitely entered the campaign. Just what Elizabeth Bentley, confessed former Communist spy, has on the ball we can't say. A lot of espionage was going on in Washington during the war and it looks as though this Vassar grad was in on it. But one thing is certain. "Communism" is in the campaign to stay. If we know our politics, there will be excitement in August, hysteria in September, and frenzy in October. With some of the same slow deliberateness with which a "spontaneous" 30-minute nominating ovation starts in a political convention, the forces are being mobilized to take over Miss Bentley for the campaign.

All through the Wallace convention at Philadelphia the name "Dulles" was good for rousing boos. Any awkward gap was filled with excoriating him as epitomizing Wall Street warmongering. Nothing could be more ironical. We have no special love for John Foster Dulles, foreign affairs adviser to Dewey and America's probable next Secretary of State. But the plain fact is that he has been a chief moderating influence in the Berlin crisis. Marshall has repeatedly said he was consulting Dulles. Dulles *has* been consulted, *has* given his views—and Vandenberg's—and is now attacked by some Administration advisers, particularly the Pentagon boys, as being an "appeaser." If we had to appraise Dulles' current attitude toward Russia, we should say it was about like that of Byrnes in his first six months as Secretary of State when he still thought he could work out a gentlemen's agreement by soft means. Later he burned his fingers and toughened and hardened his policy. Maybe Dulles will too, but at present he seeks a peace formula.

Representative Joseph Martin (R,

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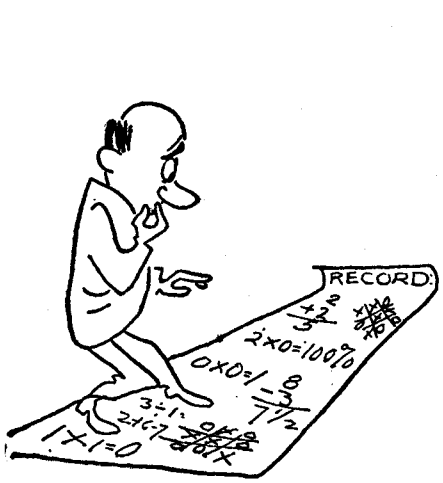
Mass.); as Speaker of the House, might be the next President of the United States—for seven weeks. If a Russian war crisis and a Republican election victory coincided next November 2, it would be President Truman's patriotic duty to make the transition to GOP control as smooth as possible. He might resign. Martin, as next-in-line in succession, would automatically take over and the Republicans would be in. Fantastic, but that's how it could be worked.

The Progressive Party's permanent organization, adopted at Philadelphia, differs strikingly in some particulars from those of the older parties. The National Committee of about 180 members, which is the party's governing body between conventions, is based on population, which gives a heavy advantage to about a dozen big industrial states. These states are, of course, the very ones where the most radical of the Wallace supporters have their greatest strength. If the Communist Party is outlawed in America, there can be little doubt that it will be strongly tempted to move in on the Progressive Party, in force. That there is already a strong Communist minority element in the party cannot be doubted.

Notes. Marriner Eccles makes more sense than anybody else on inflation in Washington: "Everybody likes to benefit from inflation and nobody likes to pay the price." The White House has come around to many Eccles views after demoting him. . . . Civil Service League Director Eliot Kaplan says half-a-million federal jobs will change in a GOP victory; annual pay of $1 billion is involved in this patronage. . . . Most alarming feature of the Berlin crisis is that the Pentagon boys can make major strategic moves without consulting the State Department and that General Clay has been almost a free agent. The Berlin reprisal-blocking of Soviet rail traffic into Western zones, for example, went into effect without being cleared by the State Department.

Washington T. R. B.

SIX EASY STEPS FOR GETTING YOURSELF A WRITE-IN VOTE

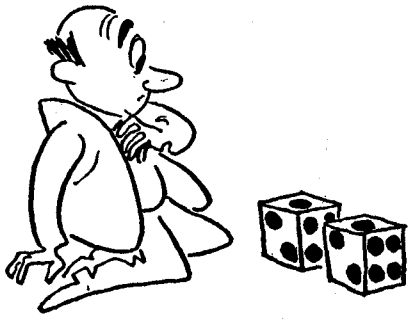


1. Stand on your record

2. Find out what the people want

3. Speak your mind freely

4. Be an internationalist in an isolationist sort of way



5. Face the issue squarely

6. Write in your own name

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VOLUME 119, NUMBER 6, ISSUE 1758, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 9, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

The Friendly Filibuster

THE REPUBLICAN leadership of the 80th Congress has demonstrated its contempt for the President of the United States and the needs of the people by conniving with the "white-supremacy" Southerners in the friendliest filibuster Washington has seen in many years. Senators Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio), Kenneth S. Wherry (R, Neb.) and Representative Charles A. Halleck (R, Ind.) had the gall to tell a nationwide radio audience that today's critically high prices and woefully inadequate housing represent no "real emergency," merely a "political emergency." The whole body of Senate Republicans agreed in their conference, with no violent objections, to provoke a phony filibuster, loaf for a few weeks, and go home.

The Republican leadership did not even bother to pretend that they were considering the 11-point program President Truman presented to Congress. Practically every Republican worth quoting had been quoted as scorning or damning Truman's proposals within 24 hours after he made them. The only question was whether to go home immediately or spend a week or two in fake activity. Candidate Dewey cynically refused to advise the congressional majority on the course they should follow. Taft consulted Dewey by phone but got nothing except an implied "It's your headache, kid," from the cagey Governor. This was one decision everyone wanted to duck. All agreed that their stay in Washington must be short enough not to "interfere with the proper conduct" of their fall campaigns. The majority thought about two weeks would be the right length of time to stay and that they would prefer to take a chance on the wrath they might incur by going home that early rather than on the unknown consequences they might face by staying longer.

At the moment Harry Truman has the advantage, and the Republicans don't like it a bit. He knows what he is doing and is prepared to assume responsibility for the course he has proposed. A great many GOP congressmen are scared to death about what the reaction back home will be to all this. Maybe the people will conclude that Truman tried to do something and the Republicans wouldn't let him. It is all very well for firmly entrenched men like Halleck to blast Truman and all his works, but the dozens who were elected by narrow margins in 1946 do not feel so bold.

There is considerable popular sentiment among these marginal-district Republicans even for moderate price controls. Fair-minded Senator Charles W. Tobey (R, N. H.), chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, is genuinely trying to provide full and free discussion of the Administration's case for restoring inflation controls. But Representative Jesse P. Wolcott (R, Mich.), chairman of the House Committee, is under no such compulsion. The President's special anti-inflation coördinator, former OPA chief Paul Porter, has been subjected to the unfairest kind of grilling by Wolcott's group. Unfortunately, the experts on the President's Council of Economic Advisers, who are most familiar with the Truman inflation control program, were not asked to participate in presenting the Administration's case, and the hearings in the House got off to a poor start.

Ten additional signatures to the petition to discharge the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill from the House Rules Committee where it has been a prisoner were obtained on the first day of the special session. With only 53 more to go, a chance remained of bringing this second priority measure on the Truman program before the House.

The friendly filibuster in the Senate is the real scandal. In a true spirit of bipartisanship, Senator Taft and his colleagues obligingly allowed the embattled Southerners to enjoy their usual comfortably short workday. No effort was made to break them physically. The filibuster fitted in with the "do-nothing" plans of the Republicans. The GOP leaders even set the stage for the filibuster in such a way that it could not be broken by cloture, which can be voted only with regard to a "pending measure." The Dixiecrats began their filibuster on a motion to take up the bill to abolish the poll tax in federal elections, not on the bill itself, so cloture could not be invoked.

If there were a real majority decision in Republican congressional ranks, there would probably be some compromise with Truman. But there isn't. The

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next week, therefore, will most likely be devoted to kangaroo-court hearings on inflation in the House and to Dixiecrat oratory in the Senate, following which contributions to the general welfare, the Republican Congress will solemnly declare itself adjourned.

BLONDE SPY

The New York *World-Telegram,* which had the story exclusively for several days, called her the blonde spy queen, with overtones of Hollywood glamor. It said that for years she had been a go-between for Communists high in the American government, who were transmitting secret and vital information to the American Communist Party and to Russia. The *World-Telegram* promised revelations that would rock the country.

Finally the blonde spy took the stand for the Un-American Activities Committee. She deflated her advance publicity on the score of glamor, but the charges she made were indeed sensational.

Miss Bentley claimed to have forwarded numbers of secrets told to her by extremely important people—including a high officer of the OSS, a trusted adviser of President Roosevelt and others. She named a substantial list of past or present government officials, some of them of high rank, whom she accused of espionage for the Communists.

But while there seemed little doubt that some of her story was true, there was equally little doubt that some of her accusations were unjust. She said she had told her whole story to the Bridgeport office of the FBI three years ago; yet so far as could be learned, no action had been taken regarding any of her charges.

Some of the individuals whom she attacked denied knowing her, or being Communists or Communist sympathizers, or ever having communicated confidential information to her or to anybody else. She was extremely vague as to the details of some of the information transmitted through her, much of which was by word-of-mouth.

Americans, remembering the Canadian espionage affair, took Miss Bentley more seriously than they would otherwise have done. It seemed certain, however, that there was an enormous amount of chaff in her wheat; and everyone who recalled the bungling incompetence displayed in the past by the Un-American Activities Committee regretted that questions of such importance should be left in such hands.

"THE TITO GENERATION"

by Alexander Kendrick

BELGRADE

If the Danube Conference accomplishes nothing else, it will set a new record for intensity of press coverage. There are almost a hundred foreign correspondents in this crowded, steaming Balkan capital, or one for nearly every delegate from the ten participating nations and side line Austria. Very few are interested in the tonnage of barge shipping or similar matters, and the Yugoslav Foreign Office seemed well aware when it permitted them to enter the country that they would be writing more about Tito and the Cominform than about *Donaudampfschiffartsgesellschaft.*

A newspaperman's hunch that this might be a good time to get to Belgrade has been borne out by a surprise party thrown the night before the conference opened: the surprises were Vishinsky, Pauker, Clementis, and foreign ministers or their deputies from other Eastern States. It was the biggest show of trans-Elbe brass since the Warsaw Conference on Germany, with the difference that here it will be on full public display. Most surprised, though not happily so, were the Americans, British and French, who had sent delegations of mere technicians.

The formidable array of Eastern diplomatic talent here probably has wider significance than the Danube Conference itself. For the boycotted Communist Party Congress, which was winding up as the conferees arrived, showed little, if any, sign of Tito's backing down to the Cominform.

Normally, in the Soviet world, "independence" means only independence from the West, but Tito's party speaks Serb, not Russian. The Party Congress, although it approved a familiar policy of anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism, rang at least a small-sized liberty bell. Undoubtedly it seemed to Russia time to do something about it.

This was written before the conference opened and before a single word was spoken by any delegation. It is dangerous to predict, but it appears fairly evident that Vishinsky and Madame Pauker have not come here to carry the Cominform fight into the governmental sphere or to sabotage Yugoslavia, as some wishful thinkers might believe, but to demonstrate that despite ideological differences the Eastern groups are still solid in relation to the West. The Danube Conference offers the Russians the opportunity to show their satellites that they are not being exploited for Soviet foreign policy and against the Marshall Plan. The deserted Danube, down which I flew from Vienna to Belgrade, counting the number of barges on the fingers of one hand, is a sad commentary on the economic state here.

Moreover, Soviet agreement at this conference would be a further inducement for the Western powers to enter negotiations for a German-Austrian settlement.

The Danube is the symbol of the German-European deadlock, and if the log jam is broken at Belgrade its effect will be felt as far upstream as Regensburg, Germany.

Finally, and perhaps more important, an agreement on the Danube statute would immediately offer a sharp challenge to the West, for the abstract principle of free navigation is valueless without trade, and there can't be much trade unless the West revises its economic attitude toward the East.

I arrived here while the congress was still in full swing and slogans, portraits, speeches, demonstrations and other propaganda made it clear that the Communist Party and not the National Front is dominating the fort. Party publicity for the congress was even more exaggerated than that in

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Moscow. Loudspeakers in squares broadcast all proceedings, including Tito's marathon speech.

Moreover, in the central committee, balloting for Tito was topped by 34 other candidates, and can anyone imagine that happening in Moscow?

Yet on the polemic and emotional level the party congress was a bad thing for the Cominform. Accusations of bourgeois nationalism made against the Yugoslavs were neatly turned against the accusers. The congress applauded a reminder that Italian Communists had displayed bourgeois nationalism by insisting on the Italian nature of Venezia Giulia; Bulgarian Communists, when they denied existence of the Macedonian nation; Czech and Polish Communists, when they fought over Teschen; Czech and Hungarian Communists, when they quarreled over the Magyar minority question; the Austrian Communists, on Carinthia; French and German Communists, on the Saar; and other cases too numerous to mention.

One speaker read a list of charges which resembled Cominform charges, then revealed they had been made by Trotsky some years back. He then read a list of answers which resembled Yugoslavia's answers and it turned out that they constituted Stalin's reply to Trotsky. Moshe Pijade, elder statesman of Yugoslav Communism, also quoted Stalin against the Cominform.

For all these reasons and because a continuation of estrangement bodes no good for the Eastern bloc, it is possible that Vishinsky has been sent here as Molotov's chief emissary to repair some of the damage caused by Zhdanov.

This is Belgrade's first international conference, and the streets, which are normally filled anyway, now teem with Bosnian and Montenegrin peasants who have hiked in from the hills to see the strange people from outside. The city's main thoroughfare, Terazije, is lined with American, British, Soviet, Czech, Polish and other reading rooms and propaganda centers. They're all trying to win the minds of the Yugoslavs. But the Yugoslavs passed them

Higher Prices, Fewer Goods

by Harold Wolff

TWO YEARS AGO Congress murdered the OPA. The theory was that free market prices would encourage higher production which in turn would maintain low prices. It may work, but businessmen seem unwilling to give it a chance. With prices topping every record, there are indications that production of many consumer items is lower than a year ago. And in coming months the volume of goods promises to go still lower.

The simple—but unpleasant—explanation of the matter is that we have reached the point at which business is finding it more profitable to curtail output than to lower prices. Every housewife has seen it work that way in her bread bill. Flour and the other ingredients that go into bread have all dropped sharply in price. Bakers could have passed this on to consumers and cut prices. Instead, they held the price line, and sold less bread. A recent survey of the industry explained: "Bakers feel they are justified in using the present low raw-material costs to rebuild their earnings." So bread is perched at its postwar high, and production is down.

When a leading bathing-suit manufacturer found supply catching up with demand, he converted his factories to make dress shirts, a luxury item where competition is less and profit margins higher. As a result, he boasted of "increased profit without larger volume." And this week, the *Journal of Commerce* reports "the swim-suit trade cannot meet the potential demand."

In textiles and shoes, plants are being shut down as a counter-attack against consumer resistance. In Lynn, Massachusetts, shoe factories are working a twenty-hour week to avoid cutting prices. Pacific Mills, one of the largest in the textile field, with profits running twice as high as last year's record but with inventories mounting, laid off 12,000 workers. Other mills are following suit. The industry has forestalled any relief from the exorbitant level of textile prices.

When mounting inventories in electrical appliances and radios threatened to break the price line, steps were taken to hold goods back and to discipline the dealers. Big manufacturers screamed: "We are taking stringent steps to prevent price cutting," although admitting, in the same breath, "sets are not moving as fast as they should."

Despite the highest prices in history, current auto production is still far below the 1941 level. This traces back to the steel famine, as do the curbing of natural-gas expansion, the short oil supply, and the machinery shortage. In a report of a Senate steel investigation committee, Senator James E. Murray disclosed what most economists have known and feared for some time: that steel shortages will persist through 1949, at least, because the industry's much-touted expansion program is not going into basic steel as much as into finishing plants for higher-profit items.

Piled on top of each other, these "they-shall-not-drop" price policies can't fail to keep prices moving up.

And what will happen to the domestic supply of goods? Almost certainly it will fall.

ECA and rearmament will take goods and labor out of civilian production and an already tight labor market. All of which makes the talk about production curbing high prices less sensible than it sounded a year ago. It makes the Republican platform pledge to "fight inflation with increased production" look foolish and irresponsible.

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by for the Serbo-Croatian reading rooms and bookstores, which easily outnumber all other retail shops here. "The Tito generation," as it calls itself, definitely wants to be on its own.

BISCUITS TO HELICOPTERS

When W. Lee (Pass the Biscuits Pappy) O'Daniel announced he would not run for reëlection to the Senate, Texas rumors said the powers who put him in (oil, cattle, milling) had offered him a fat job, and perhaps the governorship later, to step aside for their other trusty henchman, former Governor Coke R. Stevenson, who hankers to join the gentlemen's club on Capitol Hill.

The primary race last week, however, failed to clinch the deal. One of Stevenson's opponents, Representative Lyndon B. Johnson, 39-year-old former New Dealer who has moved Right as he aged in Congress, thought up an electioneering technique which has pleased light-hearted Texas voters almost as much as Pappy's hill-billy caravan. He toured the state in a helicopter, making 375 landings to spread his message of "peace, preparedness and progress." In detail, he called for federal aid to education, a stronger United Nations, UMT, big rearmament, big old-age pensions, more soil conservation and public power. He defended his vote for the Taft-Hartley Act briefly, then tried to let the issue die. He and Stevenson were one in opposing the civil-rights program.

Johnson started far behind Stevenson, but in the primary rolled up 293,000 votes. "Calculating Coke," an old-time Texas politico who conducted a quiet hand-shaking campaign with the aplomb of a man who knows the right people are for him, polled 457,000. He talked of his devotion to the Constitution and said that reduced federal taxes were the answer to inflation. But Stevenson's heavy vote was not enough to give him a majority among the nine other hopefuls. George Peddy, a Houston corporation lawyer, well-heeled with some dissident oil money, got 231,000 votes for a campaign which was internationalist but conservative domestically.

The Texas State Federation of Labor (AFL) dropped a 50-year non-partisan rule to endorse Stevenson, who announced he would be "fair" on labor-management laws. His conservative labor friends said he would vote to repeal Taft-Hartley on the ground that it was too much government interference in business and an invasion of states' rights. The smaller CIO and Railroad Brotherhood unions made no endorsements, finding themselves unable to choose between Johnson, Peddy and Stevenson, and not being willing to throw away votes on minor protest candidates.

The day after the primary, Johnson flew to Washington to attend the special session. Stevenson, still "keeping his feet on the ground," issued a strong endorsement of ERP and took a train to Washington to look into the international situation. His new interest in world affairs followed a conference with Peddy supporters.

In the run-off on August 28, Stevenson is the favorite. But Johnson's youth, ability to draw crowds, and bright young campaign team make him a serious threat. The conservative Southern bloc in the Senate would welcome Stevenson to Pappy O'Daniel's seat, for the biscuit peddler, while sound of heart, was not very effective. In Johnson, the conservatives would have an unreliable ally except on civil rights and labor matters.

Mental Delousing Needed

ROME (NR correspondent)

THE WEEKLY *L'Europeo* says a report has been submitted to the US Congress by a committee of American Army officers and civilians who investigated the psychological status of US occupation forces in Germany. Democratic ideals and ideas, according to *L'Europeo,* were found to be melting under the influence of German women. Instead of teaching the fräuleins democracy, the GI's are being taught race theories, anti-Semitism, German innocence and the idea that President Roosevelt was responsible for the war.

The weekly quotes Thomas Bates, described as formerly with the Allied Control Commission in Berlin, as saying that the "chances of a married American male losing his head to a German woman is 75 percent to 25 percent." The explanation is said to be that the fräuleins treat the Americans as their masters.

L'Europeo asserts that as a result of the report, US Army personnel decided to "submit personnel returning from Germany to a vigorous mental and psychological DDT-ing."

FREE SPEECH IN OREGON

PORTLAND (NR correspondent)

The Portland school board has been petitioned to change a long-standing policy that school buildings are open to all groups who want to pay the fee, regardless of creed or politics. The proposed policy would bar all those on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. The proposal followed the board's denial by a 6 to 1 vote of an application by the Civil Rights Congress to present Gerhardt Eisler, Communist speaker, in a lecture at the Irvington school.

School Director S. Eugene Allen, editor of the AFL *Oregon Labor Press,* made the motion for denial. Its passage ended a period of 10 years in which the Portland school board has maintained, against pressure from veterans' organizations, that the schools are open to all. Allen then moved to make a policy of the precedent. His motion was referred to a committee. It was still there last week after another regular meeting of the school board in which both opponents and proponents of Allen's motion appeared.

Captain William D. Browne, chief of detectives of the Portland police department and former head of the department's so-called Red Squad, supported the proposal in the name of the American Legion, for which he is state chairman of a committee on subversive activities. The Civil Rights Congress, one of the proscribed organizations on Attorney General Clark's list, is "the Communist Party in the United States," Browne informed a meeting of the school board.

The League of Women Voters lined

(Continued on page 10)

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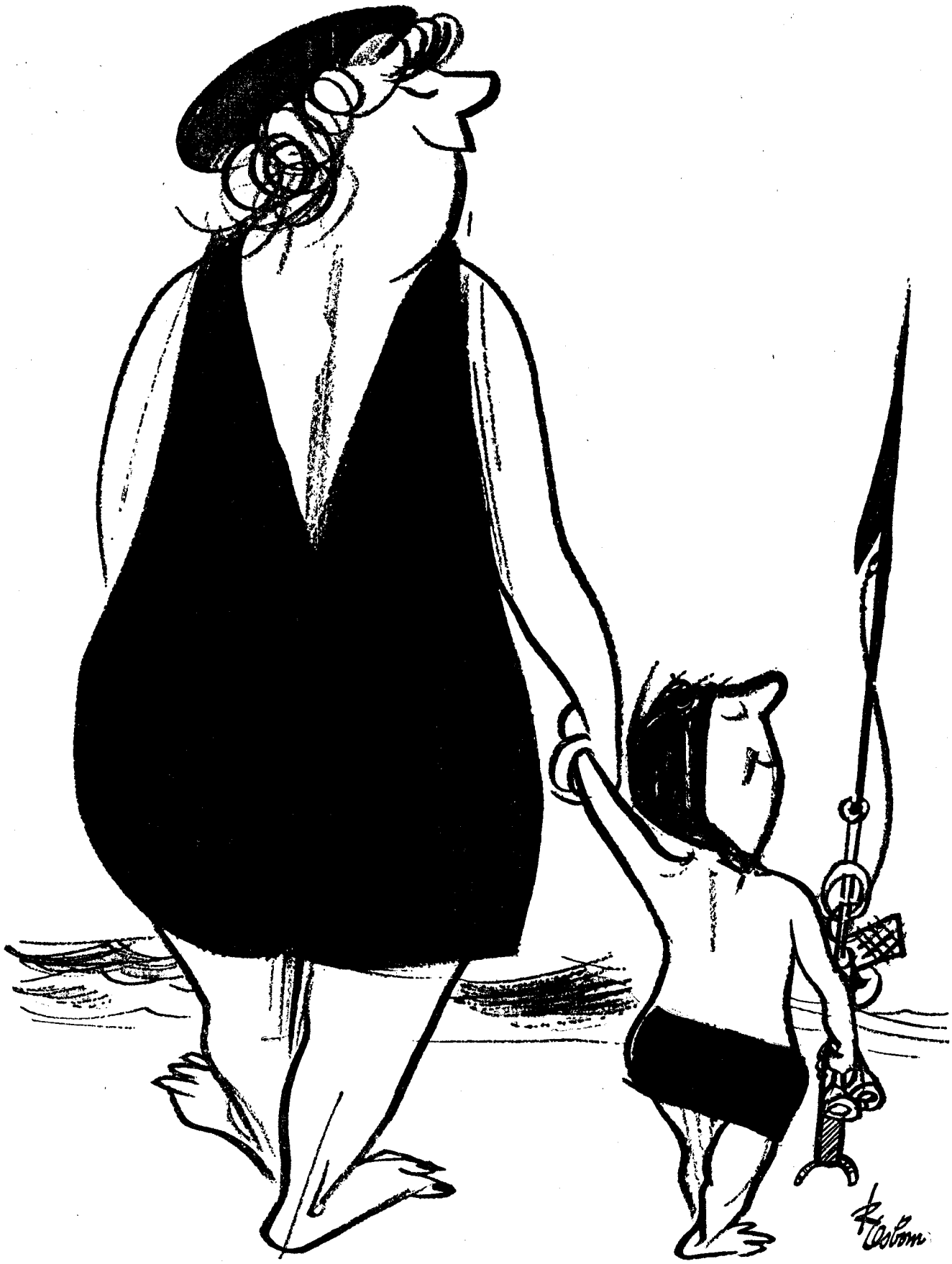

The Harpoonist

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(Continued from page 8)
up with the Civil Rights Congress in arguing that the basic question is one of free speech, not of Gerhardt Eisler or of the Attorney General's list. Spokesmen for the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars backed up Allen.

CRUMP CRIES: JUDAS!

MEMPHIS (NR correspondent)

Tennessee's campaigns for Governor and Senator have reached a climax of roughhouse oratory unsurpassed since Reconstruction days. Boss Ed Crump, seemingly backed against the wall, is buying double-page ads in every daily and most of the weekly newspapers throughout the state to lick Gordon Browning, an Army veteran who is out to take the governorship from Crump's man, Jim McCord. Browning is bearing the brunt of Crump's wrath, previously directed against Estes Kefauver, liberal congressman running for the Senate.

Here is a sample of the aging boss's political prose: "I have said before, and I repeat it now, that in the art galleries of Paris there are 27 pictures of Judas Iscariot—none look alike but all resemble Gordon Browning; that neither his head, heart nor hand can be trusted; that he would milk his neighbor's cow through a crack in the fence; that, of the 206 bones in his body, there isn't one that is genuine; that his heart has beaten over two billion times without a sincere beat."

BERNSTEIN

In the early part of the campaign Crump concentrated on Kefauver. But the young congressman from Chattanooga fought back effectively. He even invaded Memphis, the heart of Crumpland, with a proposal that an impartial board be set up to investigate Crump's charges that he was a Communist. Kefauver said that if the board decided he was, he would leave the state. If they decided he was not, Crump was to leave the state. This and other Crump charges, which have loudly backfired, have raised Kefauver's chances so high that in Memphis, where no anti-Crump candidate has ever polled more than 2,000 votes, Crump henchmen themselves concede Kefauver 15,000. The Kefauver camp is claiming 25,000.

Crump has belatedly realized that the Kefauver battle is probably lost, and so is concentrating on saving the governorship, the main instrument of his power. Browning, whose campaign has not been so astute or constructive as that of Kefauver, may give the Old Man of the River one more triumph.

NEW PARTY IN OHIO

CLEVELAND (NR correspondent)

Now that the Progressive Party, over the prostrate body of Ohio's Secretary of State Ed Hummel, has won a place on the Ohio ballot, political guessers are trying to measure its strength in this pivotal state. They believe it will get about 150,000 votes.

Almost all these would have been cast for President Truman, but since he seems headed for defeat in Ohio anyway, it makes no difference nationally. In state and city politics, however, the Progressive Party's entrance will have considerable significance.

The new party intends to enter a score or more candidates for the state legislature, most of them from metropolitan areas like Cleveland, where the Democrats had an excellent chance of regaining legislative strength. That chance will wear extremely thin with Progressives in the field.

The party also plans to jump into municipal elections next year in every major city in the state. Unquestionably some councilmen will get elected in such areas as Cleveland and Toledo. Maybe even some mayors will win in smaller down-state factory towns.

The Ohio Supreme Court ruling which permits the Progressive Party to appear on the state ballot reversed the decision of Secretary of State Hummel. Hummel had argued that the names of Progressive Party presidential candidates could not appear because they had not been nominated at conventions by delegates chosen by electors in the primary elections, and had asserted that the sponsors of the new party would not be able to qualify on loyalty grounds.

On the first point, the court held that 25 candidates for presidential electors on the Wallace ticket could appear on the ballot, thus enabling voters to mark "X" alongside those names, even though the law does prevent the names of Wallace and Taylor from appearing.

On the second point, in which Hummel challenged the validity of loyalty affidavits filed by three Wallace petitioners, the court said:

> The fact that three members of the Ohio Wallace-for-President group signing the affidavit are members of the Communist Party, without any showing that they personally advocate the overthrow of our government by force, or do or have done any of the prohibited acts, is no proof at all, and does not destroy or impair the truth or good faith of the affidavit.

With the Progressive Party becoming active in Ohio, Republican Governor Thomas J. Herbert is trying to fix up his political fences for the fall campaign. Aiming to make good on some of his '46 campaign platform promises, he called the state legislature into a one-day session. In short order Herbert rammed through measures boosting old-age pensions $5 a month, eliminating the one-cent sales tax on purchases of 41 cents and under, upped state contributions to county relief by $3 million, and increased the operating budgets of state welfare institutions substantially.

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WITCH-HUNT IN THE NORTHWEST

SEATTLE (NR correspondent)

THE METAL-FRAMED WINDOWS of the 146th Field Artillery Armory in Seattle look out on a high-school football field dedicated to the men who died fighting for freedom.

The windows look in on a courtroom where academic freedom is under attack.

The University of Washington, one of the 10 largest schools in the United States, is on trial. The state legislature's all-Republican Little Un-American Activities Committee, headed by A. F. Canwell, a 41-year-old ex-deputy sheriff who married rich, is testing the faculty for purity of thought.

The committee began by charging that 150 members of the university faculty were Communists or Communist sympathizers. Then it set out to substantiate its charge. Committee gumshoes attended classes as students and shadowed professors through the Gothic halls beside Lake Washington. The "Little Un-Americans" promised immunity to suspected radicals who tattled on each other. They threatened others ("We'll fix you so you'll never get another job anywhere"). They warned one professor not to marry his fiancée: her former husband had been too liberal. They entered a church to ask a minister why he had protested their activities.

Then, in a klieg-light hearing, with the National Guard and state patrol for protection, the Little Un-Americans read the political sins of the faculty into the record.

¶ Among a thousand faculty members, they had unearthed one who would bear witness against his colleagues. Dr. Sophus Winther, of the English Department, swore he remembered seeing some faculty men in closed Communist meetings 11 years ago.

¶ Five faculty members admitted previous Party membership, swore they had quit the Party, but on grounds of conscience refused to reveal the names of others who had attended meetings.

¶ Three faculty members and three leaders of the off-campus Repertory Theatre refused to answer the ritualistic, "Are you now or have you ever been a member. . . ."

The troupe of professional anti-Communists now playing the Un-American circuit flew in from the East to testify. Hearst's Howard Rushmore told of the "commie spy ring." Dr. J. B. Matthews, granddaddy of fellow-travelers—and now a male Mrs. Dilling—attacked "Eisenhower and his fellow travelers at Columbia," condemned Dr. Edward Condon and Professor Harold Urey for guilt by association, and named Albert Einstein and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. as America's two top fellow travelers. Canwell hammered away with his gavel to silence the snickers.

One high point of the hearing came during the testimony of Dr. Garland Ethel, one of the accused faculty members. "I should like," he said, "to make a statement of my principles. . . ."

"No more quotations from Shakespeare!" shouted Canwell. Ethel, an English professor, justifying his refusal to name men he had known were Communists in 1936, had taken the advice of Polonius: to thine own self be true.

On the fourth day, Canwell unveiled his star witness, George Hewitt, a professed ex-Communist. A glib, persuasive man, Hewitt claimed to have met one of the "reluctant witnesses" in Moscow in 1932, to have taught two others at a special high Communist school in New York.

Hewitt talked for two days—one too many. On the second day of his testimony, an attorney for the defense managed to get a statement into the record indicating that the libeled witnesses had proof they were elsewhere on the days named by Hewitt. Hewitt hedged. Denied the right of cross-examination, defense attorneys asked the county prosecutor to check Hewitt's testimony for perjury. The Un-Americans hustled their star witness aboard the first plane out of the state.

A good trouper, Canwell went on with his show. Professor Melvin Rader, a philosopher, was summoned to the stand. He denied present or past Communist Party membership, and in an hour's eloquent testimony, certain to become a legend on the Washington campus, demolished the Canwell theory of guilt by association. An enthusiastic newspaper man called it "the best thing of its kind since Mr. Deeds."

An hour later, Canwell adjourned the hearing.

But the battle is far from over. The Little Un-Americans plan to cite all reluctant witnesses for contempt of the legislature: the penalty may include one year in jail.

In all this, unhappily, the university has cowered like a whipped dog before the Canwell committee. Long before the hearings began, an "understanding" was reached between the committee and the Board of Regents, dominated by businessmen and by the Red-hating labor boss, Dave Beck. As the prisoner of this agreement to coöperate with the committee, Raymond B. Allen, the university president, has watched in silence as his faculty members have been smeared and shamed, and has even suspended from the faculty outstanding liberals cited for contempt by the Little Un-Americans. Canwell expects Allen to fire all the reluctant witnesses.

But the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors is standing by the men the university has failed to defend. It has warned the university that if any faculty member is fired for reasons outside the tenure code (which specifies moral turpitude, felony and treason), the AAUP will blacklist the university. Even today Washington does not rank high in academic standing among state universities; the Canwell committee may well lower it to the level of Louisiana State under Huey Long.

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THE CHINESE CRITICIZE U.S. POLICY

SHANGHAI

by Walter L. Briggs

DOWN THE CHINA COAST and on the islands of the South Seas, traders and manufacturers are stirring restlessly, sometimes angrily. They say they don't like the United States policy in Japan.

Before World War II, cheap Japanese goods glutted Eastern markets. With the war not yet three years over, Japanese goods are beginning to flow into Asia again, hurting local business. Hong Kong merchants recently cabled to General MacArthur: ". . . [You are] bringing up a tiger." Tennis-shoe manufacturers in Singapore petitioned the government to embargo the Japanese product. Chinese associations, controlling about 50 percent of the Philippines' retail trade, boycotted all Japanese goods. The Shanghai Chamber of Commerce protested the Central Trust's introducing Japanese woolen piece goods.

The outcry of the merchants and the manufacturers is a logical expression of self-interest. A spokesman for the "Anti-Promotion of Japanese Industries Revival Association," comprising Hong Kong's most prominent manufacturers, recently summarized the businessman's argument: "The governments and people of the Far East, tempted by the cheapness of Japanese goods, have already begun buying them in colossal quantities. Japanese production has already passed beyond the self-support stage. Japan can well afford to export enormous quantities of her newly manufactured goods."

The US is seeking to soften resistance to Japanese exports by inviting national trade delegations to Japan. The Voice of America and the UN Information Service have embarked on a serious attempt to explain to the peoples of Asia our problems in Japan.

MacArthur's experts insist that Japan will not stand on its own feet before 1953. Official spokesmen for the British Crown Colony minimize the Japanese trade threat. And one of them emphasized what MacArthur's economists have argued, namely that Japan, like Britain, must "export or die"—that only by exporting goods can Japan import sufficient food to keep its 80 million population alive.

Nevertheless, some interests throughout Asia will undoubtedly suffer from Japanese mercantile competition—cotton weavers, for example, when Japan's spindles reach prewar production. Some unemployment may occur in specific industries. But the US believes that expanded Japanese trade will benefit Asia as a whole.

Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, retiring American ambassador to China, does not see the revival of Japanese trade as a serious threat to China's economy. "Certainly," he told the Chinese, "the demands of the peoples of the world for goods and services are far greater than anything all the countries in the world, in the predictable future, can hope to satisfy. The indefinite continuation of an indigent Japan will continue to lower the standards of living of the world. As a hungry and restless people, the Japanese will threaten world peace. We must remove the issues which encourage communism."

Stuart denied that any part of the Japanese military power is being restored and warned that anti-American agitation among students "can have unfortunate results," namely, curtailment of US relief to China.

Stuart, in common with other Americans here, has been annoyed by rumors that Japanese *kamikaze* pilots are being trained in the US; that war criminals are going free; and that the US has given Japan 28 destroyers and submarines.

William Sebald, acting US political

WOODCUT BY WANG CH'IH

Walter L. Briggs is a free-lance roving reporter in the Orient. During the war he was a correspondent for the United Press in China and India.

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adviser in Tokyo, said that the US is as eager as China to prevent Japan's rearming. Many of those anti-American charges spread by left-wing students and those holding similar views sound like—and sometimes quote—the Chinese Communist Radio.

Mayor K. C. Wu of Shanghai, who has managed to keep student demonstrations within bloodless bounds, affirmed that the youngsters were being manipulated by "professional students." He viewed the agitation as a Communist-inspired plot aimed not so much at stopping US aid to Japan as at stopping it to China.

Most of the student demonstrators are not Communists. But they yearn to help their country gain peace, prosperity and a standing among nations. This correspondent's long acquaintance, formerly as a teacher, with Chinese students leads him to believe that most of them do not realize the influence the Communists are exerting on them.

Student agitation doubtless will continue. Recently some students turned back American food in protest against our Japanese policy. America cannot suppress this movement. Neither can China undertake wholesale repression, however much some party leaders might desire it.

There is considerable evidence that the CC clique, the dominant element in the right-wing Kuomintang, helped incite the students. This identity of action by both the extreme Right and the Left is one of the recurrent anomalies in the Chinese political picture. It is understood that word was passed around the Ministry of Education, which the CC dominates, that authorities do not look askance at some first-class student demonstrations against American policy in Japan.

Such actions apparently are motivated by a desire to snare for China a proportion of US aid now going to Japan; thus further lining the insiders' pockets. In the background is official irritation at the increasing American interference in China's internal affairs, for example, the strict supervision of ECA funds.

JAPAN: FULL SPEED ASTERN

Changed without notice, our new occupation policy will reconstruct, not reform, an economy considered strategically vital

by Mark Gayn

WITH NO ACCOUNTING to the American people, Washington has completed a reversal of its three-year-old policy for Japan. The new policy takes the accent off reform and puts it on reconstruction.

The story of the reversal in policy is told in four secret documents, recently made available by the Army and State Departments. The original US policy for Japan was outlined in a public statement issued by President Truman some three weeks after Japan's surrender. The terms of this declaration were restated and elaborated in a top-secret directive sent by the eleven-power Far Eastern Commission to General Douglas MacArthur in March, 1946. The theme of this document was democratic reform.

In effect, the directive made of the US one of the biggest wreckers—and builders—in history. One of the objectives was "encouragement and support of liberal political tendencies in Japan." Washington even sanctioned the use of force by the Japanese people to destroy feudal institutions, provided such violence did not interfere with the occupation.

Within eight months after V-J Day, however, the zeal for wrecking began to weaken. Flux and uncertainty did not sit well with the men running the occupation. The purges of war criminals interfered with the need for a strong and orderly government. The ordered dissolution of the family trusts (Zaibatsu) hindered efforts to restore Japan's economy. The military men in Tokyo felt that with a new war in the offing, social experiments were strategically unsound.

Mark Gayn, author of Fight for the Pacific, Journey from the East, and the forthcoming Japan Diary, has contributed to the Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Reader's Digest and other magazines.

A similar change was taking place in Washington. The sharp exchanges between Dean Acheson and General MacArthur were forgotten as the spectre of a conflict with Russia overshadowed other considerations. The State Department chose to make Japan the pivot of US policy in Asia. Moreover, US Big Business began to exert pressure for a "return to normalcy" in Japan.

Early signs of the change in Japan became noticeable in 1946. Reins were pulled on labor-union activity. American props were put under tottering conservative cabinets. No punitive action was taken when these cabinets subverted General MacArthur's orders on land reform, failed to purge some of the most obnoxious war criminals, winked at the concealment of billions of dollars' worth of Japanese military supplies and subverted the so-called "demobilization boards."

Edwin W. Pauley's mission arrived in Tokyo on November 7, 1945. Four weeks later, it had produced an Interim Reparations Program. In essence, this provided for the immediate removal of those portions of war industry which could be used to rebuild the countries devastated by Japan. The basic premise was that Japan should have sufficient industrial capacity to survive, but not enough to dominate Asiatic economy again. To achieve this, the Japanese clock was to be turned back to 1930-31, when Japan's economy was still on a peacetime footing.

But months passed, and the equipment destined for Japan's victims remained stored in her factories and warehouses. A proposal to call an international conference on reparations was rebuffed by Russia, which did not want to discuss her removal of industrial equipment from Manchuria. The Japanese did all they could to hinder

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DRAWINGS BY AMY KASAI

a fuller inventory of the equipment available for transfer.

Opposition to the Pauley program also appeared in Washington. Late in 1946, Howard C. Peterson, then Assistant Secretary of War, sent a technical mission to Japan, ostensibly to assess the productive capacity of the various plants and industries subject to reparations. Headed by Clifford S. Strike, president of F. H. McGraw Company, the group included representatives of major American engineering firms.

Soon, rumors began to filter back to Washington that the group was less interested in implementing the Pauley program than in showing that it could not work. And when the mission returned to the United States in February, 1947, it recommended to the War Department that the program be abandoned almost in its entirety.

In April, 1947, an inter-departmental conference on reparations was called in Washington. Strike appeared in the role of chairman and virtual spokesman for the War Department. In the discussions, members of the Pauley mission agreed to a number of modifications in their original report. Substantially, however, the new plan remained a blood brother to the Pauley program. Basically, US policy still was to cut down Japan's industry to a point where she could not dominate the lopsided economy of Asia.

But in the summer of 1947, the Army Department entered into a contract whereby the newly formed Overseas Consultants, Inc., would survey the industry of Japan. Strike went along, with the title of Project Director of the Industrial Reparations Survey of Japan. The spirit in which he conducted his survey was indicated in an article he wrote for the *American* magazine in September, 1947, under the title "Revenge Is Expensive."

On February 26, 1948, the Strike Report—the third in the series of four exhibits—was made public. It advocated a complete reversal of policy not only on reparations, but on Japan's future in general. Showing compassion for Japan's real—and alleged—needs, the report urged an end to the removals of the Japanese industrial plant, other than primary war equipment. Specifically, it recommended that Japan retain the bulk of her productive capacity in pig iron, steel ingots, sulphuric acid, ball and roller bearings, thermal electric power, shipping tonnage and shipping-repair facilities. It also argued that Japan needed more than eight million tons in annual steel production—or more than Japan produced at the peak of her war effort.

"A strong industrial Japan," the report explained, is "potentially a strong military power. In our opinion, however, a strong industrial Japan would be less risk to the peace and prosperity of East Asia than a continuance of the present state of instability and economic maladjustment in this vast and populous area."

The altered views on reparations were not the only sign of the changing

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US policy in Japan. A far bigger weathervane was supplied by the struggle over the dissolution of the Zaibatsu.

"It is the intent of the United States Government," said the Far Eastern Commission's secret directive to General MacArthur in March, 1946, "to encourage and show favor to policies which permit a wide distribution of income and of ownership of the means of production and trade. . . . You will require [a special Japanese public agency] to submit, for approval by you, plans for dissolving large Japanese industrial and banking combines or other large concentrations of private business control."

In Tokyo there seemed to be more paper work than will. And the real trend was shown by the fact that the anti-Zaibatsu division at headquarters became known as "Society for the Preservation of the Zaibatsu." Typical of the general feeling was the staff conference called in May, 1946, to consider—as ordered by Washington—a purge of businessmen who had played a part in Japan's aggression. The majority agreed that Japan's Big Business was our best ally.

The turning point of the US policy on the Zaibatsu was provided by the fourth in the series of exhibits—FEC-230. This directive was submitted by the State Department to the Far Eastern Commission for concurrence in May, 1947. One of the goals of FEC-230 was to ensure the dissolution of the Zaibatsu. A copy of the document was sent to General MacArthur.

The directive was being processed in Tokyo when the most important figure in the Japanese drama appeared on the stage. This was William H. Draper, Undersecretary of the Army and vice-president on leave of Dillon, Read and Company, investment bankers. Earlier Draper had served (with the rank of brigadier general) as an economic adviser to General Lucius D. Clay, and was held largely responsible for the modification of the decartelization program in Germany. In the early fall of 1947, he went for his first look at Japan in defeat.

The full story of the events that followed Draper's return from Japan has never been told. In October, 1947, the Army Department sent word to General MacArthur to moderate his already moderate trust-busting activities. Together with this document, according to Tokyo reports, went a personal plea from Draper's superior, Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall.

The Washington memorandum put General MacArthur in an embarrassing position. His officers had already translated FEC-230 into an Economic Deconcentration Bill, which the Japanese government was ordered to sponsor as its own. To abandon this bill would have meant a painful loss of face. General MacArthur chose to reject the Washington recommendations. He even went a step further. When the Japanese Diet, not unaware of the dispute, balked at passing the Economic Deconcentration Bill, an American officer kept the session going until the weary parliamentarians gave in.

The State Department, succumbing to the pressure emanating largely from the Army Department, withdrew FEC-230 from the Far Eastern Commission "for restudy." This spring, Draper returned to Japan at the head of an impressive mission, including Paul C. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation, who subsequently became ECA administrator; Percy H. Johnston, chairman of the Chemical Bank and Trust Company of New York; and Robert F. Loree, chairman of the National Foreign Trade Council. Unlike most other missions, this group did not seek democratic reform: its candid concern was with a return to "normalcy." Its members met, and discussed the problems of recovery, investment and corporate profits, with representatives of such financial and industrial giants as the Bank of Japan, the Bank of Tokyo, the Mitsubishi Heavy industry and the Japan Steel Tube.

When the mission concluded its studies, Draper revealed he would propose a five-year program of US aid, whose initial instalment (in 1948-49) would be somewhere above $500 million.

In other statements, public and private, members of the mission made clear their conviction that the efforts to break up the Zaibatsu should be halted, that the government controls on business should be lifted, that the reparations should be scaled down sharply, that Japan should be allowed to rebuild her shipping to prewar levels, that taxes on corporate profits should be reduced, and that restrictions

WILLIAM H. DRAPER

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KENNETH C. ROYALL

should be set on labor-union activities.

Unlike most of the generals in Tokyo, Draper did not put the question of rebuilding Japan on the basis of an anti-Russian military bastion. The aid program, he insisted, would merely seek to make Japan self-sufficient, in order to spare further expense to the American taxpayer.

The Doubting Thomases in the American community in Tokyo promptly forecast a lingering death for the trust-busting measure. A committee appointed to scrutinize the operation of the law quickly gave proof that the cynics were right. And in May, the Draper group recommended, through the War Department, that Congress grant $140 million as the first payment on a program to make Japan strong.

The Bulletin of the Bank of Tokyo said happily, "This year will be a year of green light for Japan." *Mainichi*, one of Japan's two largest newspapers, commented, "Japan's role in stabilizing the Orient has now been correctly assessed." The *Nippon Times*, a semi-official mouthpiece, added, "The reported change in US policy toward Japan, to make this nation the workshop of Asia, has given new hope to the Japanese people."

Everyone agreed that things will now revert to prewar "division of labor." The other nations of Asia will produce the raw materials; Japan will process them, and then collect the profits of commerce. Japanese editors buttonholed Americans to learn if the new US policy meant that Japan could resume her trade expansion, interrupted by defeat. Purged business leaders flocked to Tokyo from their retreats to see if they could unpurge themselves.

But no one in Japan thought that the change in policy was to be confined to business and reparations. The new policy, the Japanese were convinced, meant the removal of all restraints imposed by General MacArthur in the name of reform. The war was over, and Japan was now America's ally.

Premier Hitoshi Ashida and his cabinet began to discuss amendments to the American-sponsored labor laws. The cabinet also proposed the prompt removal of controls on production, prices and profits. Some bolder spirits even demanded a revision of the new Constitution, which General MacArthur himself had helped to draft.

Inevitably, Japan's thoughts turned to rearmament. The government introduced before the Diet a bill to set up a Marine Peace Preservation Board, ostensibly to combat piracy and smuggling. The bill proposed to create a pocket navy, *including submarines*. Mindful of Japan's renunciation of armed forces in the Constitution, the bill stated blandly that nothing in it was to be construed as an attempt to organize and train a navy. When some of the Pacific nations threw up their hands in alarm, the US quickly backed up the Japanese government.

In effect, all these measures were a reversal of the reform program so well publicized by General MacArthur's aides. The General, however, now kept his silence. The occupation was nearing its end, and it seemed unwise to advertise the reversal of our objectives. The Government Section of the Tokyo Headquarters, which had initiated the bulk of the reform directives, has gone out of business, purportedly because its mission has been accomplished. General MacArthur himself is expected to leave Japan for a triumphal return home, after an absence of eleven years.

The only place where our new policy has created open resentment is in China. Tormented by a civil war and economic chaos, the Chinese have watched their neighbor with undisguised fear. "The United States," said a Shanghai daily in a typical comment, "has adopted a policy of building up Japan without regard for the future of peace in the Far East. We do not oppose the effort—to maintain the livelihood of the Japanese people. What we oppose is the wrong US policy of purposely building up the economic position of Japan's landlords, plutocrats and militarists under the pretext of maintaining the livelihood of the Japanese people."

Soon after this statement was made, the United States applied strong and direct pressure on the Chinese government to halt the adverse comment. But public fears were not allayed. The recent protests of Chinese professors, and the student demonstrations, were only an outward sign of this deep and real fear of a strong and unreformed Japan.

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WHAT RUSSIA DID TO GERMANY

The significant and unprecedented pattern followed in confiscating industry and dividing the land

by Peter Nettle

This is the second in a series of articles giving the first comprehensive report of what is happening in the Russian zone in Germany, and its significance in terms of Russia's foreign policy as a whole.

The author is a young Englishman who has spent several years in Berlin under circumstances exceptionally favorable for learning accurately and fully what is happening inside Russia's Germany. His series is published in conjunction with the Political Quarterly, *London.*—THE EDITORS

IN THE FIRST ARTICLE of this series, I described the conflict between the special, centralized administrations in the Russian zone in Germany, and the largely autonomous local governments of the various provinces, or *Länder*.

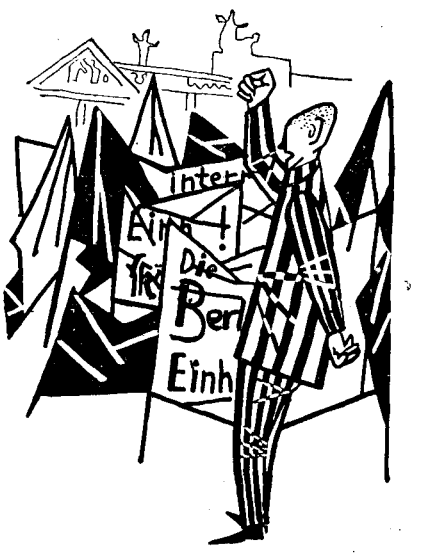
For a time, it seemed that final power would be vested in the centralized government; but recently the balance has begun to change again in favor of the continued independence of the provinces. To understand this important development, we must look at some of the facts regarding one of these provinces: Saxony.

Saxony occupies a unique and predominant position in the Russian zone. It and Bavaria are the only states in all of present-day Germany whose boundaries of administration are historic, corresponding generally with those of the kingdoms of Saxony and Bavaria before 1870. In Saxony, like Bavaria, there is therefore a strong tradition of regional independence.

Saxony's importance is further enhanced by its economic significance. Since the war it has been governed by men of considerable ability who have made full use of the independence of the provincial government to ensure Saxony's leading position in the zone. Their task has been made easier because in the largely urban, industrial population of Saxony both socialism and communism have the roots of a long prewar tradition, when the province earned the nickname "Red" Saxony.

Among the Germans governing Saxony are a number trained in Russia during the time of the Hitler regime, who have been active in converting their theories into fact since the war. They have made Saxony, from the Russian point of view, the model province of the Eastern zone. If a measure is approved in Saxony it has often, without further hesitation, been made general throughout the Russian zone. This fact has played a considerable part in the struggle between the provinces and the central administrations for supremacy; although in many ways centralization is obviously advantageous to the Russians, it would mean the abandonment of their wholehearted and able supporters in Saxony, who have been so successful in applying Russian ideas in their state.

The struggle between the central administrations and the provinces has tended to resolve itself into a personal battle between the most active presidents of the former and the chief ministers of Saxony. This rivalry has been noticeable not only in technical and administrative business, but also in the purely political field.



Logically, the chief personalities of the SED (the "united front" Socialist-Communist Party) might seem likely to support the claims of the central authorities, as the SED is itself highly centralized. In order to guard against a trend toward regional independence, repeated instructions were issued by the central executive of the party and its provincial organization in Saxony that members of the party in official administrative capacities must consider themselves primarily as members of the party, and must work for its authority and prestige within their administrative organization.

At the same time, the SED made what seems to be a bid for direct supremacy in administration as well as politics. A number of important SED functionaries were recently appointed to the newly formed executive staff of the zonal economic commission. The logical conclusion of this would be that the leaders of the party would also be the chief administrators of the zone and that zonal policy, so far as it was in German hands, would in fact be made behind the closed doors of the party executive. Such a system would closely approximate that in existence in Russia.

The position is therefore roughly as follows: on the one hand are the provincial governments, of which the best example is the provincial government of Saxony where able ministers have worked to achieve a model communist state. On the other hand are the central administrations, with a record of good work and the hope of becoming a government for the Eastern zone, influenced to an ever increasing extent by the party headquarters of the SED. Finally, in supreme control are the Russian authorities who have created these two instruments of government and who must decide which should have the greater authority.

Political reasons on the whole seem

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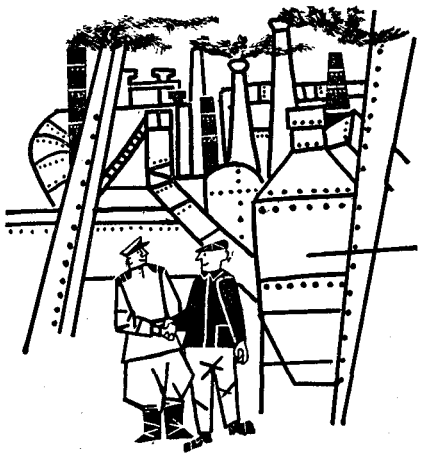
to call for a decision in favor of the central administrations. But there is a strong factor which calls for the preservation of the status quo and the relative autonomy of the provinces, despite the consequent anarchy and political difficulties. It is an economic factor, and to appreciate it a survey of economic conditions is necessary.

The obvious way for Russia to recompense herself for the enormous losses inflicted upon her by the war was through economic reparations from beaten Germany. The first of these was the dismantling and removal of German factories and other productive units. The phase of dismantling dominated the early part of the Russian economic policy of occupation. It was considered of such importance that it was controlled directly by Moscow and special teams of experts were sent from there to supervise it.

Obviously dismantling is an open and evident process. If a factory is dismantled and the machinery removed, the building remains empty and it is impossible to hide from the world what has taken place. Therefore it is easiest and best to organize and control this process from the center.

The central administrations, consciously or unconsciously, assisted in this process; the statistical data and reports of the administrations for industry, fuel and power, and transport made a general survey of these respective fields a comparatively simple matter for the Russians. In some cases the process was repetitive: if a factory or railway workshop had restarted work to any extent after the original dismantling, it could be, and often was, dismantled a second time.



Gradually, the general emphasis of Russian economic claims shifted. Not all factories could be satisfactorily dismantled and reëstablished in Russia. In some cases, it was not possible to evacuate the German technical staff together with the factory. In others, the process of dismantling had been so clumsy that much of the machinery was ruined in transit. Certain factories, although highly desirable for the Russians, were so closely tied to their localities that their removal was impossible. Finally there were limits, for political reasons, to what the Russians could dismantle with impunity.

Therefore profit had to be made from most of the German capital goods where they were. The most obvious means of doing this was for the Russians to take over German factories and run them for their own use. This was the function of the Soviet Aktien Gesellschaften, the Russian-owned companies registered either in Russia or, in some cases, in Germany, which operated the works for the benefit of the Russian state with several Russian officials usually designated as nominal directors and stockholders.

Although these SAG's are controlled centrally in Moscow, and a control liaison staff of the combined group exists in Berlin, it was obviously not desirable that the German central administration should have any say in their control. In fact, it was essential that no non-Russians and only a few Russians should have an over-all picture of the activities of these Soviet companies. If economic control were centered in the administrations in Berlin, it would be a matter of simple arithmetic to discover the extent of Russian property now existing within German economy. Certainly no German could be entrusted with such knowledge, particularly as the SAG's benefited only the Russian Communist at the expense of his German brother.

But even the activities of the SAG's had limits. Although it was impossible to gain a complete view of their activities, careful assembling of information from the provinces could produce a fairly accurate picture. It was not possible to keep Russian ownership of a factory secret in its immediate vicinity. A third means of obtaining reparations was therefore evolved, although it violated the Potsdam Agreement, which stated that no reparations were to be taken from current production.

Orders were placed by the Russians with German firms for a wide variety of semi-manufactured and fully processed goods for use in Russia. In certain cases, the raw material was supplied; in the majority of cases, it had to be taken from the German firms' own stocks or purchased by them. Many firms were thus forced to scramble for scarce raw materials wherever they could be found, in order to carry out their reparations orders. This system of reparations has also embraced the exploitation of large quantities of such basic German raw materials as brown coal, potash, wood and, in certain cases, even food.

Not all these goods have gone to Russia. Considerable quantities are still being exported by the Russians to obtain foreign currency for the Soviet Union—which is an extra reason why they keep over-all reparation figures in the dark. Such reparations, and particularly their sale abroad on Russian account, were strictly against the Potsdam Agreement. As this agreement has often given the Russians a stick with which to beat the Western powers, the extent of its infringement in the Eastern zone cannot be allowed to become a matter of public knowledge.

An exact insight into Russian ownership and control of factories in the Eastern zone might also become a serious threat to the reputation of the economic experts of the SED. One of their chief propaganda weapons is to point to the full employment of factories in the Eastern zone as a credit to Russian economic policy—and their own!

Apart from these three major means of exploiting German economy for their own benefit, the Russians employ a considerable number of lesser devices, such as their custody, during dis-

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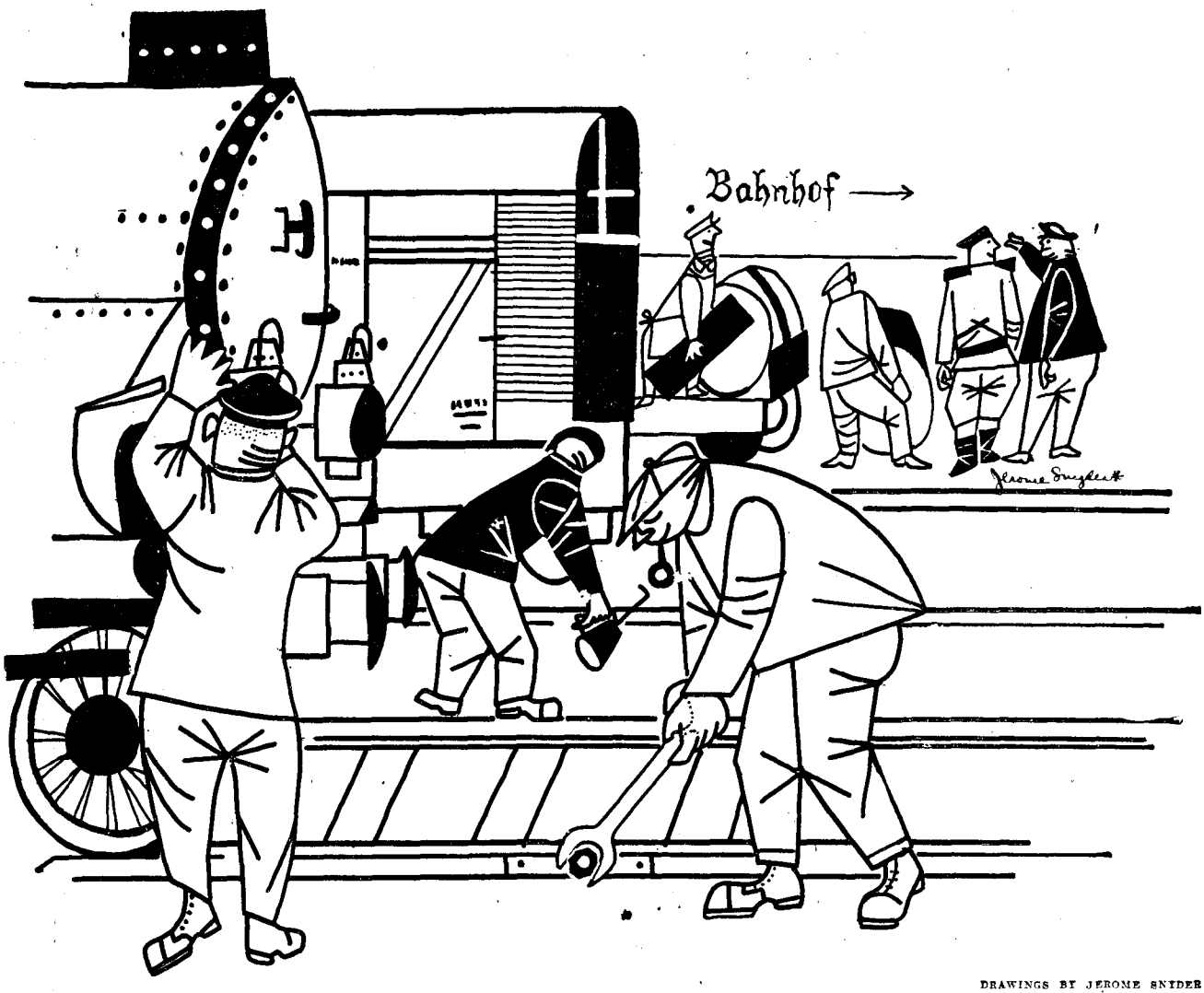

DRAWINGS BY JEROME SNYDER

puted ownerships, of undertakings sequestrated as formerly belonging to Nazis or war criminals; the purchase, through German middlemen, of German real estate; and the operation of an "official" black market to obtain scarce goods from the other German zones.

Russian interests have therefore directly and indirectly become integrated into the German economic system to such an extent that a central reorganization of German economy is impossible without the wholehearted coöperation of these interests. The firms concerned would have to operate again on a German instead of Russian account—which seems a most unlikely contingency at present. Yet without them it would be extremely difficult to reach any degree of industrial prosperity in the Eastern zone of Germany. Even if it were possible to plan any sound reconstruction of German economy by writing off Russian-owned interests, to calculate the amounts of these manifold interests would still be an impossible task.

The effects of this economic policy are all-important. They conflict with the idea of centralization. It is clear that official Russian policy has not yet identified itself wholly with one or other of these trends, but instead has followed alternative paths at different times. It may be possible to connect the tendency toward centralization with the political difficulties during the formative stage of the present political organization of the Eastern zone, and the decentralizing influences with the recent emphasis on Soviet economic policy, characterized by the prodigious activities of the Russian trading companies operating in Germany (Rasno, Techno, etc.) and the foreign-currency bonus of 7.5 percent which was to be granted as an encouragement to German firms engaged in export. (The remaining 92.5 percent still goes, presumably, to the state bank of the Soviet Union.)

If these conflicting tendencies of government are borne in mind, many of the seemingly inexplicable actions of the Russians during the last two years become clear. Above all, it seems plain that the organization of the Russian zone is still in a formative stage; there are too many unresolved conflicts for a crystallized over-all setup to become apparent. Until the Russians have themselves decided exactly what their own final conception of the Eastern zone is to be, they will not put forward any definite ideas for the future of Germany in any meeting of the four occupying powers. At the same time they will resist any immediate plan for the complete organization of Germany from the other occupying powers. That

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is why they have used every means of preventing concrete results at the foreign ministers' meetings.

Moreover, the Russians are not likely to accept any plan for Germany which includes their zone, unless it is based on the organization existing there at that time. Whenever a definite and detailed plan for the future of Germany appears in the official Russian press or is announced in Moscow, we may be sure that a final blueprint, both economic and political, for the Russian zone is already in operation.

It is therefore necessary to examine both the probable future organization of the Russian zone and the basis on which Russia is prepared to plan the future of Germany.

The political organization of the zone as a direct instrument of Russian policy has already been discussed. Side by side with the reparations aspect of Russian economic policy in Germany is the Soviet's considerable activity in establishing German economy on Marxist lines. This has been achieved by a drastic policy of nationalization.

Strangely enough, this nationalization has not been, as in other socialist or communist countries, on the Marxist basis that industry vital to the life of the nation should be in the hands of the state. Instead, it has been embellished by the official Russian claim that only the businesses belonging to Nazis and war criminals would be taken over by the provincial governments. Thus the necessity for paying compensation was avoided and the middle classes may have been lulled into some false sense of security. But the results were the same as if an open policy of general nationalization had been followed, since the great majority of firms of any size or importance were made over to the state government simply by branding the former owners "fascists."

It is hard to see why a policy of open nationalization was not adopted, especially since, in other legislation, no hesitation was shown in openly carrying out a drastic socialist policy. The fiction of sequestration deceived no one for long. The majority of large and medium-sized factories, commercial and even municipal undertakings are now state property. Nevertheless, many small, underprivileged, private firms are being encouraged to some extent by the Russians as a means of bringing in foreign exchange for them.

Saxony, naturally, is the state whose economy is most highly organized. The Saxony industrial corporation (Saechsischer Industrie Kontor) directly controls the nationalized industrial firms and, in effect, the private sector as well. The state control of raw materials has been ensured. The government of Saxony has been active in controlling both its inter-zonal and its foreign trade by means of a state-controlled firm which places all orders with German firms for export. Its consent is necessary before any foreign transaction may even be brought up for final approval by the Russians. In this way Saxony has a control over its trade with which the central administrations in Berlin can hardly compete.

In the organization of transportation, too, the conflict between Russian interests and German organizational problems is evident. The great dismantling and removal of railroad lines were primarily due to Russian domestic shortages, although many Germans read into this more far-reaching considerations of strategical importance. There seems, however, to be a contradiction between the theory that Russia desires to make a desert of railway communications in the Eastern zone and her present economic investments there.

The organization of the German transport system has become highly centralized, with separate departments for railroads, highways and inland-waterway transport. Great efforts have recently been made to cope with the heavy demands on the depleted stocks of the railways. Detailed planning figures are constantly issued, which become increasingly difficult to fullfil. Nevertheless, under present conditions, railways are functioning adequately.

Nowhere has the new policy been as radical as in agriculture. The land reform was planned in Moscow even before the end of the war, to be put into effect as soon as possible after the Russian occupation. A detailed plan covering the whole zone was ratified by the five provincial parliaments.

This provided for breaking up all large and medium-sized estates, and vastly increased the small peasant-proprietor class. In order to squash any future claims by former proprietors the land-registration records in some areas (Mecklenburg, for instance) have been burned. It is difficult to estimate the results of this policy on agricultural production. One German authority in the Eastern zone considers that the average land holding is now only 60 percent of the minimum size necessary for effective cultivation. There is some evidence that the handling of last year's harvest was muddled owing to the inexperience or incompetence of some of the local farmers and officials. A further difficulty is the shortage of agricultural machinery.

To counteract this and to increase the solidarity of the agricultural proprietors and workers, a farmers' mutual-benefit organization was formed, on the lines of a trade union, to provide machinery, instruments and, in some cases, money for its members. This organization is strongly influenced by the SED and may justifiably be considered state-controlled in spite of its coöperative label.

In his third and final article, Peter Nettle discusses the present condition of education, medicine, the courts, the police and the trade unions, in Russia's Germany. He also gives his answer to the question: What is Russia's policy for Germany? What does she want, and how is she moving to get it?—THE EDITORS

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE MACHINES ARE IN REVOLT

by James R. Newman

"I DO NOT LOOK on a human being as a machine, made to be kept in action by a foreign force, to accomplish an unvarying succession of motions, to do a fixed amount of work, and then to fall to pieces at death." When the Reverend William Ellery Channing uttered this warning in 1838, he could scarcely have been expected to foresee the degree to which mechanization, assembly lines and mass production were to shape the existence of Western society.

MECHANIZATION TAKES COMMAND, by Siegfried Giedion (Oxford University Press; $12.50).

To his words the sweep of technology has given a melancholy and prophetic quality. Even if in the ensuing century men were not wholly transformed into the grotesque creatures portrayed in "The Adding Machine," "R.U.R." or Chaplin's "Modern Times," mechanization came so completely to pervade daily life that the question persistently arose whether man was in fact still the unchallenged master of the implements and methods devised for the sole purpose of increasing his own mastery over the outside world.

To what extent, we now ask ourselves, have machines succeeded in making machines of us; to what extent do machines, living a life of their own, now compete with us for space and time, elbow us out of natural paths, alter our habits and attitudes, persuade our choices?

These are the matters considered by Siegfried Giedion in his new book, a logical successor to *Space, Time and Architecture*, wherein he attempted to show, by example of architecture, "the split that exists in our period between thought and feeling." He now offers a survey of the "anonymous history" of the machine epoch, a history of humble, but not banal, things which have guided our ideas and "shaken our mode of living to its very roots." Door locks, vacuum cleaners, furniture, electric toasters, washing machines, sleeping cars, bathroom equipment, bread-making machinery, agricultural implements, tractors, assembly lines of the auto and packing industry, electric fans, egg beaters are among the objects selected by Giedion for examination. Tracing their technical evolution and the effect of their use on daily living, he weaves the threads of a special kind of social history in which machines—and the spirit of mechanization—are related to surrounding human thought and action and are shown as representative outgrowths of "fundamental attitudes to the world."

Underlying mechanization, as Giedion points out, is the concept of movement. Mechanization means more, however, than the mere augmentation of an initial force: the machines of industry are not so much substitutes for human strength as for human skill. Successful mechanization entails a device or a connected group of devices which will reproduce a series of motions embodied in a handicraft evolved through centuries of effort and ascending skill.

Even in a brief syllabus on the origins of modern science one should expect a place to be allotted to the first appearance of that imperishable method of thought which employs formal relationships—abstractions—as a means of gaining new insight and synthesizing knowledge. Yet Giedion writes of the scientific renaissance without commenting on the role of abstraction. Here, as elsewhere when discussing foundations and root causes, Giedion lapses into a vague, disjointed form of expression as if the underlying ideas were more deeply felt than understood.

His ability to make penetrating analyses and apt generalizations, his sense of perspective and balance show to better advantage in his separate histories of the various tools and practices of technology. The machine and the methods of mechanization are sometimes richly beneficial to the conduct of life, sometimes harmful and dangerous, sometimes merely foolish, and, most often, of mixed tendency, with good and evil effects closely intermingled. Giedion has selected examples which illustrate these categories and thus exhibit the ambivalent and confused nature of mechanization. Let me offer a few instances.

Since early Babylonian times the locksmith's craft drew the most skilled artisan. It was, however, not a craft marked by notable progress. Keys found in the tomb of Tutankhamen were quite evidently designed for locks which in principle were not inferior to the locks of the Gothic period and even later. In the nineteenth century a variety of causes, including, among others, the growth of cities, changes in the construction of doors and other aspects of dwellings and business structures, the expansion of banking facilities, prompted the demand for more compact, efficient and foolproof safe and door locks. The need was precisely met with the invention by Linus Yale of a small cylindrical pin-tumbler lock operated by a flat, pocket-size key. Almost overnight this ingenious invention eliminated the ancient, refined craft of the private locksmith. Its place was usurped by a new industry which could mass-produce inexpensive, efficient, burglarproof locks using simple, standardized, interchangeable parts. Locks were thereby "democratized," since they were no longer available only to bankers and barons. The new

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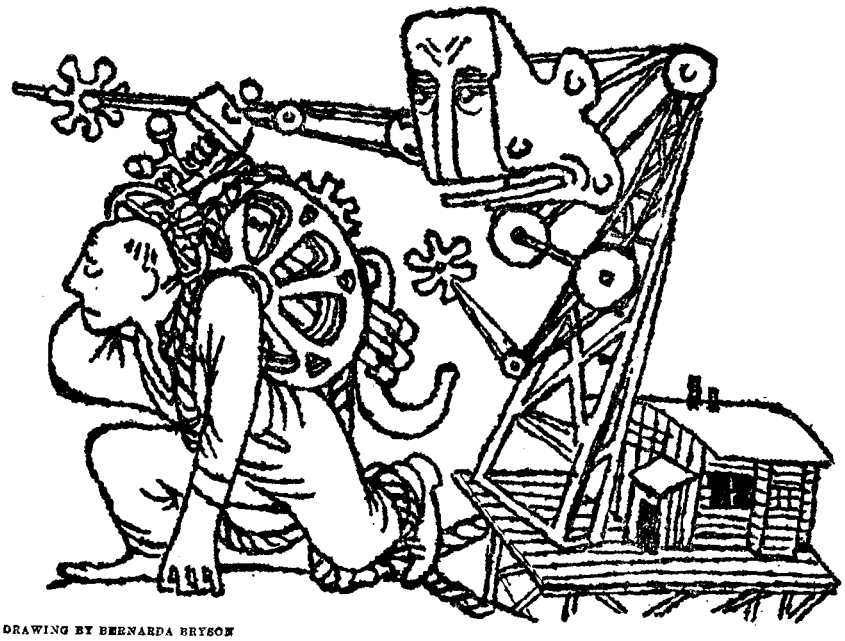
industry was beneficial to consumers, workers and entrepreneurs, an example, therefore, of mechanization without tears.

A more significant and fateful extension of mechanization took place in nineteenth-century agriculture. This technical revolution was particularly sweeping in the United States. The automatic reaper was invented in 1831, and by the turn of the century the entire harvesting process was in the hands of the machine. When perfected, the combine not only eliminated endless, stultifying drudgery but did its work more efficiently than the most experienced farmer. Although a crankier and more demanding creature than the horse, the tractor is an invaluable servant of agriculture. Its advent in the US cut by perhaps two-thirds the man-hours required to harvest an acre of wheat and therefore enormously increased both production and supply. Further consequences of the increase in wheat production, and thus also indirect but no less recognizable consequences of the tractor itself, were closer involvement of the US in world trade and international affairs generally. The effect of the internal-combustion engine on the course of history is too well-known to require comment, but Giedion performs a valuable service in emphasizing the unique part played by the farm tractor.

The immense benefits conferred on the US—and the entire world for that matter—through the mechanization of agriculture were to some extent offset by other developments. Access to world markets meant a dependency on world markets and their vagaries. When agriculture afforded new outlets for capital, farms grew larger and were gobbled up by great corporations. Amid these events the interests and social structure of the farmers inevitably underwent change and the 1940 farmer was apt to cock an eye at Wall Street as often as at the sky. In depression years populations were uprooted and the tragedy of the migrants darkened the social scene. In times of international tension the farmer was suddenly reminded that, at least so far as his oil and gasoline-consuming machinery was concerned, he had become a world citizen with a stake in pipeline politics played in Washington and 10,000 miles further away. In sum, while mechanization enlarged the farmer's control over the soil and the harvest, this peripateia had been achieved at the cost of his being plunged into the flux of social, political and economic affairs.



DRAWING BY BERNARDA BRYSON

Modern bread-making is one of the examples cited by Giedion of the effect of mechanization on taste and on the general health of the human organism. Thermodynamics, biology, chemistry, electrical engineering, automatic bake-ovens, mixing, rolling and kneading machines, automatic slicers and wrappers, devices for injecting vitamins, endless conveyor belts—these are among the sciences and implements enlisted in the manufacture of the uniform, thin-crusted, spongy, golden-brown (and virgin-white) confection which is white bread. If the staff of life now approaches the flavor and texture of tepid snow, it is accommodated perfectly to that vitiated norm known as "the ruling taste." Enthusiasm for this vapid, antiseptic product has been a trifle diminished by recent medical suggestions that a white-bread diet may lead, quite plausibly, to insanity. Even if there is no cause for alarm, there is ample reason to believe that the modern wonder loaf does not accomplish all its makers claim for it. Neither the palate nor the stomach gets its due; the teeth are hardly called into service; other interested organs are, in all likelihood, also disappointed. We make our bread and our bread makes us: in the direction we are moving it is not pleasant to contemplate the result—either for the bread or for us. Here the triumph of mechanization is something of a fiasco.

Artificial fertilization and insemination are further examples of mechanization entering the organic field. Progress here has been considerable. Of the chicks produced in the US only about 15 percent are brooded by live, non-electric hens; 85 percent are incubated in some 10,000 hatcheries yielding more than 1.5 billion chicks yearly. In both Russia and the US the artificial insemination of mammals is an established technique. One is not certain of just how this should be regarded from the standpoint of social justice. I have some sympathy, in fact, with the Middle West advocate of artificial insemination who was riven by misgivings as to whether "the mare should not be 'in love,' as it were, with the horse."

No one can deny that this work has been successful and of immediate and

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future value. Yet an inevitable uneasiness and doubt attends the further extension of mechanized procreation in a world often without forethought or scruples. "A new outlook," says Giedion, "must prevail if nature is to be mastered rather than degraded. The utmost caution is imperative. This calls for an attitude turning radically away from the idolatry of production."

There is much else in this strange but rewarding book that I would want to mention if space permitted: Giedion's account of the history of furniture and of mechanization in the home, of the role of the assembly line in the packing and automobile industries, of mechanization as a cause of the deterioration in quality of various products, of the evolution of the sleeping car and its relation to the growth of the class system, of the revolts against the machine, of the history of the bath (it was the Queen of Aragon who boasted that "exempt by birth and marriage she had never bathed"), of the frequent degeneration of mechanization into a mere proliferation of gadgets for their own sake, of the relation between mechanization and art. I can do no more than offer the titles as samples of Giedion's range.

This is not an even or wholly satisfying book, though it is a valuable introduction to the study of technical progress and the relation of mechanization to the thought and ways of our time. The subject, to be sure, is immense and with few landmarks, which may explain why Giedion is often carried away by his enthusiasm for secondary bypaths. One can scarcely assume that Usher's excellent *History of Mechanical Invention* and Mumford's distinguished writings were not used as sources, yet I recall no reference to either. It is disappointing not to find an analysis of the connection between the growth of corporations and bigness in general, on the one hand, and the rise of mechanization on the other. The machine, after all, is preëminently suited to serve the ambitions and aggressions of economic empire builders; it would seem to be the ideal weapon of the entrepreneur, just as in the military sphere light artillery suited Napoleon and the machine gun the armies of the Kaiser.

A major point which has fortunately not escaped Giedion's attention is that mechanization and the assembly line "can be put to work within quite opposite economic systems." They are not the special fruits of free enterprise nor the unique blessings of democracy. Mechanization in the hands of our enemies may be an effective weapon against us; it may be equally destructive when misused by us against ourselves. Carlyle once remarked about the fine arts that they had got into "an insane condition and walk abroad without keepers, nobody suspecting their bad state, and do phantastic tricks." Such diverse, contemporary items as the atom bomb and automatic perfume dispensers (the latter recently advertised as installed in every room of a new Colorado hotel) raise the suspicion that mechanization gradually approaches the same condition.

I would say a final word about the format of the book. Except for a fabric binding which on prolonged contact produces what I would assume to be prickly heat, this is an example of distinguished book making. Large, fine pages, spacious margins, clear type and more than 500 illustrations, bizarre, old and new, provide some justification for the high price.

JAMES R. NEWMAN

EMBARRASSMENT OF EVILS

IMPORTANT PEOPLE, by Robert Van Gelder (Doubleday; $3).

RALPH INGERSOLL opened the season on upland birds last winter with a small-bore novel called *The Great Ones*, in which, because of a tendency to undershoot and to overload with statistics, the big ones got away. Now Robert Van Gelder, quartering the same field with more zeal than marksmanship, bangs away with scattershot at everything that moves.

The publisher's blurb states that *Important People* is "A brilliant novel" (in the euphoric language of publishers any novel which criticizes our contemporary culture is "brilliant," as all the best-sellers are "runaway" and any book not a commercial failure is a "best-seller") "of a society that 'permits might to go by inheritance, not by proved worth'." This is a valid and indeed commendable thesis, and may well have been the author's original intent, but his attack upon the evils of nepotism can scarcely be said to dominate this book. While it is true that the hero of *Important People* is a young man who inherits the control of a top-circulation news magazine, Van Gelder's over-ambitious attempt to extend his crusade to include most of the evils of our time often finds the story's Dixon West panting to keep up with him.

Important People is fashionable in that its meandering plot includes the Negro problem, an interracial romance, juvenile delinquency and a psychoanalyst, in this instance a lady one, with a zipper on her libido. Dixon West, its unhappy hero, is a rich boy who has stretched the silver cord from a Hudson Valley estate to Tokyo. When he returns from a tour of Army duty in the Orient, he is shocked by the cheap cynicism of the postwar, *haute monde* New York.

At Van Gelder's insistence, he falls in love with Mig Holmes, a neurotic young widow whose diet of alcohol and nembutal have not yet seriously impaired her beauty. As they drive through a Harlem street, jammed with the overflow of a rabble-rousing mass meeting, Dixon unknowingly runs over a small Negro child. When he discovers that his act has touched off a Harlem race riot, he determines to devote his life to righting the wrong. His tycoon grandfather has handed over to Dixon the control of *Cover*, the fabulous news magazine, and young West determines to remodel the reactionary publication to express his growing social consciousness.

At this point Van Gelder proceeds to ride off on several hobbies simultaneously. He takes a sideswipe at the snobbishness and cruelty of exclusive

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boys' boarding schools and the moral cowardice of sycophantic headmasters; gives a gaudy and somewhat naïve picture of Harlem; dwells on a truncated, adolescent romance between a precocious young white girl and a Negro boy; adds a high-proof, alcoholic passage when Mig Holmes and Dixon's father go on a bender; and throws in for free a picture, torn from *Esquire*, of two North Carolina hillbillies, and a flood in the deep South.

There is Dixon's illegitimate son, whom he and I almost forgot, probably because he never makes an appearance in the book. There are also other characters, legitimate but otherwise not very respectable. Chief among them is Boykin, the driving, career-obsessed misanthrope who edits *Cover*, who is one of the best portraits in a novel not distinguished for its photography. And, after all these, there are still pages left on this calendar of sin, some of them hardly relevant to the theme of nepotism, but all of them indicative of the author's determination to cover territory. Had Van Gelder been content to concentrate on only a few egregious symptoms of our cultural decay, he has the incipient gifts, and certainly the vigor, to have written a sharp, antiseptic novel which would, perhaps, have canalized much of his commendable indignation. As it is, *Important People* dies choking from a surfeit, and the characters, less indefatigible than the author, cease to be important, or to be people.

JOHN WOODBURN

WOMAN INTO MYTH

WHEN THIS YOU SEE REMEMBER ME: Gertrude Stein in Person, by W. G. Rogers (Rinehart; $3).

W. G. ROGERS, arts editor of the Associated Press, has written a warm, brightly informal account of his long friendship with Gertrude Stein, and in it he provides an entertaining, candid portrait of a woman who was in herself remarkable, whatever may be said of her as a literary artist. Rogers met Miss Stein and her constant associate, the enigmatic Alice B. Toklas (who emerges rather handsomely in

DRAWING BY FRASCONI

his book), when he was a young American soldier on furlough in Nîmes during the First World War, and she was a rather odd but extremely kind and amusing woman with whose writing he was only vaguely familiar.

He renewed the acquaintance many years later with remarkable success: visited in her Paris salon, made several tours with her through France during the days of the long armistice, saw a lot of her during her American lecture tour in 1934 and kept in touch with her in Vichy France throughout the late war. The Steinlike title he has given his book comes from a phrase which girls used to inscribe in autograph albums, and which, he says, amounted to almost an obsession with her, with its "sad intimation of the mortality of which she was so conscious."

Rogers had a deep regard for Miss Stein and it seems clear that both she and Miss Toklas were fond of him and amused by his strange, naïve American ways. His account of their friendship has a touching and persuasive quality. Rogers is an earnest and intelligent admirer of her writing, and his comparison of her prose with the quality and aims of cubist painting is a help in the understanding of what her enthusiasts see as genius.

To one who remains among the skeptics, though, his portrait is but added proof that Gertrude Stein was distinguished and important, not as a writer, but as a great personality and influence, usually for good, on other writers. No one who met her seems ever to have forgotten her. Whether they were celebrated authors, painters and composers or unknown young GI's—who, after the liberation of France, called upon her as a famous oddity and stayed to delight in her as a person—she managed to capture their affection as well as their interest.

She had a keen, if limited, intelligence; her ideas were amusing and provocative; and she had the striking virtue of being intellectually stimulating to all of her friends. But even the evidence that her admirers submit indicates that, if she is to live in American letters, it will be as a strange, fascinating and essentially good human being of rather epic proportions, not as the author of works of permanent distinction.

Artistically, hers was a success of eccentricity; personally, the eccentricity was but a superficial part of an authentic kind of greatness. It is not at all impossible that, as a writer, she will live only as the creator of memorably peculiar phrases—such as the inevitable "a rose is a rose is a rose" —and the librettist of those delightful operas for which Virgil Thomson composed the music, "Four Saints in Three Acts" and "The Mother of Us All."

A candid friend with liberal views, Rogers is frankly disturbed by Miss Stein's political ideas. She was, he confesses sadly, a Franco sympathizer, a hater of Roosevelt and the New Deal, a defender of Pétain. She once said that, in America, "we limit the rule of the dictator but Congress has been tending too strictly to be a yes Congress, you know that, and disguise to yourself as you will, the majority does want a dictator." Of Mussolini's Italy she wrote to Rogers: "They let you work and live in the country and be peaceful. . . . They are all envious of Italy because everybody there can live and be quiet, and everybody xcept the few who make the noise want to live a little while and be quiet." On

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this evidence of the quality of her political thought, and from her sympathy for the Croix de Feu (because she felt that it put on a good show), it does appear that Rogers is right when he concludes that her views sprang from ignorance and naïveté rather than from viciousness.

It disturbs him, too, that while her early French friends were liberals and radicals, her later associates tended to be of the extreme Right. She was, he says, "a *rentier*, and possessed a *rentier* mentality in matters of taxes, jobs and government." Surprised that such a rebel in art and writing could be so conservative in "the unfamiliar fields" of economics and politics, he defends her, rather gingerly, by adding that, however wrong her social ideas and her sentimental sympathy for prewar fascism may have been, "when political issues were clarified by the war, it was as plain to Miss Stein as it was to all the rest of us that there were no two ways about it, it had to be democracy, it couldn't be totalitarianism."

He is convinced that she was loyal to the Allies in the war, and that her devotion to the GI's of the liberating army was deep and sincere. In her defense, he reminds us also that she continued to be a friend of Picasso, who was an ardent believer in the Republican cause in Spain. Whatever can be said of it, her political orientation remains a dark spot on the reputation of one of the most notable literary figures of the first half of the twentieth century. RICHARD WATTS JR.

THE MISANTHROPE

THE PORTABLE SWIFT. Edited with an introduction by Carl Van Doren (The Viking Press; $2).

NO LITERARY REPUTATION of comparable status rests on so little as Jonathan Swift's. So little, I mean, that is read and enjoyed by the general public. As Carl Van Doren points out in his introduction to these excellent selections from Swift's writings, he is the author of one book—and that, more often than not, known in abridgements for children.

But around *Gulliver's Travels* floats a vague, legendary reputation based on the figure of Swift himself: the powerful political pamphleteer of Queen Anne's reign; the problematical lover of Stella and Vanessa; the friend of Pope, Addison and Gay; the disappointed and embittered exile; the mad Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Van Doren adopts the legend as the structure for his selections; "Swift," he says, "is one of the most personal of writers." In an introduction consistently useful and ingratiating (in spite of a sustained tone of panegyric), he corrects and documents the legend, thus providing the political and personal information needed to understand Swift's work.

Swift's most frankly personal writings are his letters to friends in England, and the *Journal to Stella*, which he wrote to Esther Johnson while on a political mission in London. In these, besides his penetrating insight into men and affairs, he displays a broad common sense and practical concern with health, personal habits, household routine, revenue and expenditure. "Health, good humor and fortune," he remarks characteristically, "are all that is valuable in this life."

But delightful as the letters are (and they belong among the most readable of an era remarkable for its correspondence), it is in his capacity as a clergyman that Swift finally reveals his temper and intellectual constitution. One will not find in his writings anything more than a perfunctory endorsement of the Christian faith, and a purely rational interpretation of the Christian virtues. His was a reasoned belief which he defended on grounds of expediency. Orthodoxy was preferable to heterodoxy because the latter can never "meet with any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world." Religion is the basis for society and the assurance of its preservation. Thus religious conformity becomes a *social* duty and "the want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome."

In this attitude, Swift was a man of his time, but it is more important to recognize what he was *not*. He was often not, as usually supposed, a satirist. The impulse of his writing is not the reform of manners or the inculcation of reasonableness; it has no human ends because its conclusion is to reject human values. In the praise of wisdom and virtue, he comes to a conviction of the irrelevance and ineffectuality of both. When he proceeds (as in the third and fourth books of *Gulliver*) to a scathing condemnation of the human race, he is not abandoning "reason" for any higher criterion; his intellectual framework is merely the instinct of his hatred, what he calls a "great system of misanthropy."

His beau ideal, the Houyhnhms, those orderly horses in the fourth book of *Gulliver*, are not Utopian human beings; they are essentially inhuman. Their achievement is not the reasonable order of the passions in the habit of virtue, but simple, inane innocence. They "have no conceptions

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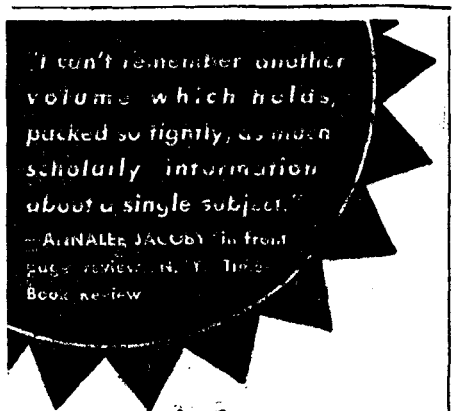
or ideas of what is evil." They are incapable of love. At most, they practise a pallid universal philanthropy without individual affection. This, by the way, is an interesting reversal of Swift's personal alienation: while he "always hated all nations, professions and communities," he was susceptible to infatuation for individuals.

But his revulsion was not only from "that infernal habit of lying, shuffling, deceiving, and equivocating so deeply rooted in the very soul of all my species"; it was from the species itself. The Struldbrugs, for instance, those doomed immortals whose curse is life, are principally contemptible not for any moral failing, but for "the usual disadvantages which old age brings along with it." The conditions of existence are to be despised, and what Swift experiences is not pity, but hatred. The Struldbrugs are examples of the absurdity of the very desire to live.

Nothing is so symptomatic of Swift's misanthropy as his fascinated horror of the physical aspects of life. Gulliver despises the Yahoos for their appearance, long before he knows anything of their personal traits. Human beings are ridiculous because they are not formed like something else: human hands could not properly be called forefeet for "they were too soft to bear the ground." The fact of human generation itself shocks Gulliver-Swift. His wife is "that odious animal." He feels "hatred, disgust and contempt" for his family, and the thought of parenthood "struck me with the utmost shame, confusion and horror."

In appreciating the stature of Swift, it should be remembered that he was, first of all, a professional writer. That is, his powers were often at the disposal of a political faction; his wit and dexterity furthered not his own conviction as a thinker, but the practical and often sordid ends of inferior men. However brilliant, this kind of writing rarely achieves the first order of literature. But, as Van Doren explains, "what had raised Swift, scattered and random as most of his writing was, to the first rank among writers, was the high reach of his pride, the magnificence of his scorn. . . . It was his passion that mattered."

JOHN FARRELLY



This is the book that authorities like Theodore White, Richard Lauterbach and Brooks Atkinson agree is *the best book on China in our time* — because it clearly explains China's present tragic dilemma in terms of her cultural and political past. Here, for the first time, is a non-technical account of what Americans must know if we are to solve an obstinate foreign relations problem, now more than ever in the news.

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THEATRE: The Underground

"ALL MEN AND BEASTS, eagles and quails, horses, stags, geese, spiders, silent fish that inhabit the waves, starfish from the sea and creatures invisible to the eye, all life completing the dreary round imposed on it has died out at last. . . ."

These are the opening lines of a play that the young poet, Treplev, in Chekhov's "The Seagull" presents to an audience that includes a famous actress and a successful novelist. They don't like it; and the author isn't sure of it himself. He demands new forms for the theatre, but he is still groping. However, the most intelligent member of his audience, Dr. Dorn, is understanding. He calls the boy's work vivid and deeply affecting. "It is only a pity that he has no definite object in view. He creates impressions . . . and one cannot go far on impressions alone."

I thought of all this when I saw "the interplayers" do e. e. cummings' "him" down at the Provincetown Playhouse. The reaction of the New York drama critics in 1928 when "him" was first produced was very much like that of the highly esteemed professionals at Treplev's play. "What decadent rubbish is this!" Treplev's mother exclaims; our critics were far less polite.

Wasn't it an absurd idea for a young man to write a play about the world's death in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century? And what did cummings mean by writing a raucously orchestrated Bronx cheer at the peak of our prosperity? If one was to express despair—and a certain note of gloom went very well with the cushy Harding-Coolidge era — one ought at least to be serious and dignified about it. There's nothing in the world so exasperating as a gaudy hysteria.

Those who had been to Paris in the twenties and had seen the Cocteau ballets, or those who had read Eliot, Joyce and Aragon, defended cummings. Yet even the writers who supported "him" against the philistines were not in a position at that time to appreciate the play's full import. "him" is essentially a lyric outcry; most of its champions thought it funny.

Rebellion in the twenties reared its head in comparative comfort. The middle class was sufficiently undisturbed to make a game of being disturbed. If a Greenwich Village or left-

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bank poet felt impelled to give vent to ecstatic gibberish he might go ahead and do so in specially prepared corners that the well-to-do were still willing to provide their poor neighbors, the artists—places like the Provincetown Playhouse for example. Not today! Today no one will even take the trouble to get sore about cummings' play. The production of 1928 was opulent compared to the bareness of the present one. For if the Provincetown was then the theatre's back alley, today it has become its underground.

"him" is a coin with two faces: one, that of the poet himself; the other, the face of the world as the poet sees it. The world is an obscene freak show masking a dark realm of brutal hunger that obtrudes only as a ghoulish vision. The poet is uncertain of his own identity. Is he what he appears or what he feels himself to be? He cannot make himself part of the world which is the accepted "reality" of the successful. To live outside of "reality" is torture. The idea "I am an Artist, I am a Man, I am a Failure" obsesses him. The healthy love of his girl is poisoned by this obsession: it leads him to thoughts of suicide. (Treplev in "The Seagull" kills himself, as did Hart Crane, the outstanding poet of cummings' generation.)

After a trip to Paris where the poet encounters a tearful Babbitt suffering very much as he himself does—the frustration of the American businessman and the poet being in the end not very dissimilar—the poet experiences a kind of renewal of spirit. The artist, man, failure, he realizes *"must proceed."* He no longer believes that beauty and the truth are the same. He is now interested above all in finding the truth. The play actually ends on a hopeful note.

cummings did not find the truth in the thirties, though others were sure *they* had. The present period of prosperous doldrums is a time in which the respectable of all classes either will not countenance pessimism of any kind or receive it with indifference, a time also in which even the rebellious have little hope. So MacDougal Street where "him" is being played is now harsh without glamor, the Provincetown Playhouse no longer a center of cheerful obstreperousness but a grimy shed. Here young actors of a theatre world bankrupt with success doggedly proceed before a neighborhood audience of simple folk and those who, like cummings' poet, feel themselves to be artists, men, failures. Yet I feel a truth in their inglorious underground that is somehow more inspiring than the air-conditioned stuffiness uptown where no one would dream of reviving so drunken or so personal a play.

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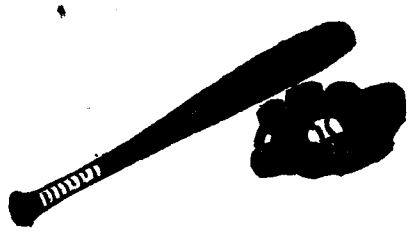
MOVIES: No Hit

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE an expert on baseball to sense that there is something very wrong about "The Babe Ruth Story." Only the sports writers and the fans may be able to put their fingers on the precise liberties that the producers have taken with the details of Ruth's professional career and private life, but it is obvious that someone is being fobbed off on us here who not only never existed but never possibly could have existed. Babe Ruth is a folk hero and from that certain conclusions necessarily follow.

Popular idols need not be great nor even particularly good, but it is imperative that they should not be fatuous. As William Bendix plays him, Ruth has all the purposeful vigor —and much the facial expression—of a koala bear. It is generally accepted, furthermore, that leaders in any field of work acquire along the way to fame enough social competence to distinguish them from Steinbeck's Lennie. They don't present to the world, as Ruth does in this film, a personality of moronic amiability. It doesn't bother me too much that Bendix swings a bat as though he were beating a rug; it disturbs me a lot that he can't seem to get around town without an attendant.

Apparently, the film bosses made Ruth dumb to keep him pure. In addition to mollifying the usual guardians of sanctity, they had this time—as the script itself says—to think constantly of the fragile idealism of youth. I've never noticed that children demand excessive sanctity in their heroes, nor am I certain they should. Many fathers would rather have their boys out robbing the mail with Billie the Kid than brooding in the garden with St. Francis of Assisi. But the movie Ruth is just about the most blatantly wholesome man who ever hung out in a night club, and the one time he does seem not quite himself you feel sure it's from an over-generous helping of ice cream.



It's infuriating that Allied Artists succeeded in making a maudlin, priggish film out of Ruth's career. They had a great personality to work with, a superbly photographic background against which to develop him. They could have made a good film that would also have been a popular one, and they settled for routine tear jerking and muscular Christianity.

Despite a painful title and some of the dampest advertising of the summer ("In your arms I know no right or wrong . . . you have made me what you are"), "So Evil My Love" is a stylish, well-bred and sufficiently intriguing murder story. It takes place in London in the '90s, when corpses were discovered by gaslight and getaways were made in hansoms with Leo G. Carroll in leisurely but relentless pursuit. No one offers a guinea for a quick trip to Euston Station, but that's the mood and it's the right one for murder.

It may strain you a bit to accept the fact that the strait-moraled widow of a missionary will take to a life of crime and license with quite the easy gayety Ann Todd displays in her capitulation to Ray Milland. You will also recognize the road signs—when Miss Todd undoes the bun at the nape of her neck and lets the tresses flow you know she's lost to the church forever. But plausibility and originality you get only in the classic homicide romances. "So Evil My Love" is certainly not that, but it carries you along on its elegant narrative, and the principals make an unusually handsome pair of amorous criminals.

ROBERT HATCH

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RADIO: Philadelphia Fadeout

ON THE OPENING NIGHT of the Progressive Party's convention here, CBS lost its tongue and I lost my patience. I had expected fair treatment of the third party from the network which the New York critics recently cited as outstanding in public service. I was let down, and so were those 99 million listeners CBS claims in its advertising.

About 11 o'clock, opening night, I climbed for the fourth or fifth time to CBS's radio-control booth perched high above and to the rear of the Convention Hall platform to see how the staff in charge was spending the hours of silence. An aide tried to halt me at the door by pointing to the chalked sign: "On the air." Somewhat skeptical by then, I brushed him by.

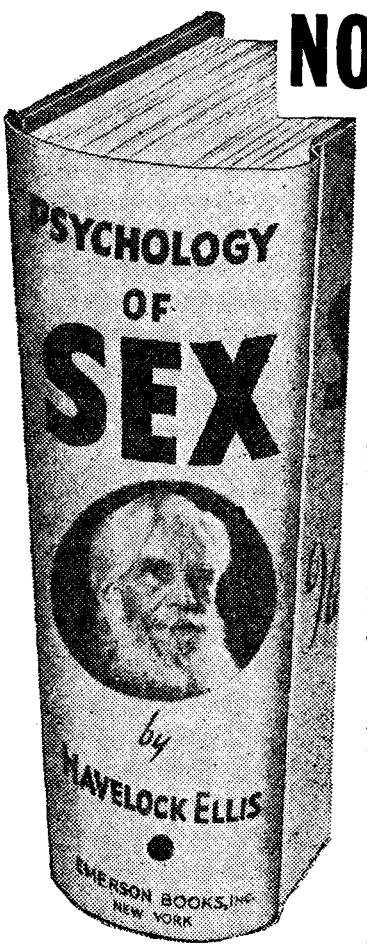
I owe that assistant an apology; somebody *was* about to open the mike at the moment. Quincey Howe went on for five minutes from Convention Hall, 11:10-11:15 p.m., with his usual nightly analysis that follows the usual nightly 11 o'clock newscast. But not a word, not a voice was broadcast by CBS directly from the convention that opening night—not even the keynote address.

A month and a half earlier, when the Republicans opened their convention in the same place, CBS had canceled a full hour of expensive commercial time to transmit every bit of nonsense coming from the floor. Now CBS was exercising something called "managerial discretion" when it wasn't labeled "editorial judgment."

By contrast with CBS, NBC went to town. The Radio Corporation of America subsidiary, not noted for love of the Left, did a good, workmanlike job. Its reporting was not comparable to that done for the two earlier conventions, but an hour-and-a-half of airtime on Friday night is still solid coverage. NBC, too, was exercising discretion and apparently decided that listeners, regardless of political leanings, might be curious about the new party, want to hear how it comports itself, what it says and how. NBC set out to satisfy a curiosity that CBS didn't believe existed.

That night, Mutual was on for 30 minutes, broadcasting the keynote address. ABC stayed with the convention for a full hour. In addition, all four networks did interviews, originated newscasts from the Hall and reported some of the color as well as the accomplishments.

Broadcasts from a party convention



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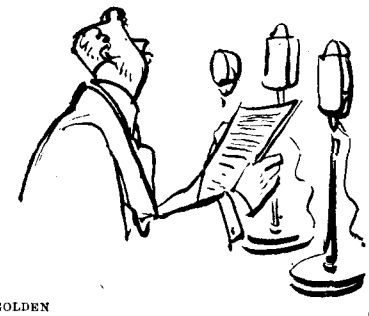
are carried free as "public service." All the networks boasted during the two earlier conventions of their contributions, but there is an angle to such philanthropy. The free ride ends when the conventions are over. From that point on, campaign broadcasting is Big Business, with time rates often double the customary charges. Looked at thus coldly, free time during the convention is an investment to advertise the political programming to follow.

Edward R. Frisbie, the Progressive Party's radio director, protested that all the networks were practising "political discrimination," with CBS the butt of his special anger It was a sight to see five-foot-eight Frisbie standing up to CBS's stringy, six-foot-four vice-president in charge of public affairs, Davidson Taylor. "Who the hell are you," demanded Frisbie, "to tell the American people that we are less newsworthy than the Democrats and the Republicans?" Taylor's responding grunt was as funny as Frisbie's "Little David" stance, but one was left with the impression that there was nothing really to laugh about in radio's Philadelphia behavior.

To give CBS and its rivals their due, they all regained their sense of values by the second night of the convention. (That afternoon, even CBS *couldn't resist giving* up 45 minutes of airtime for a broadcast from the Hall when Henry A. Wallace and Glen Taylor appeared for a bow.) When the convention's big rally was held, at a baseball park, the networks turned somersaults to catch it all. Mutual canceled Colonel McCormick's favorite show, "Chicago Theatre of the Air," and even gave a half-hour to William S. Gailmor's fund-raising appeal.

ABC and CBS put their stars at the microphones in the ballpark, and if Elmer Davis almost burst a blood vessel trying to be bearish, his bad humor was more than balanced by John Daly and Howard K. Smith. NBC and the Progressives patched up things so far that they made a deal. Taylor's acceptance speech was delayed 15 minutes to save a half-hour NBC program which would otherwise have been cut off.



GOLDEN

Judged by radio alone, the Progressive convention received creditable coverage from only one network, NBC. But in television, conducted as a joint project, the industry did itself proud. There was no skimping nor grudging. As a "show," in fact, the Progressives won handsomely over the Dewey-Truman forces. One of the causes was their own enthusiasm, youthfulness and vigor; but part of the explanation lies in the fact that television had profited from its struggles at the two earlier conventions. The commentaries I listened to, spoken by Ben Grauer, Bob Stanton and Quincey Howe, supplemented the camera rather than sticking mechanically to the lens-view. The television directors and cameramen had also learned a lot.

There will probably be few new tricks on the radio side of this year's campaigning, but the big hope for developing new techniques is in video. So far, only one really powerful television show has been staged by any of the politicians: Harold E. Stassen's performance on CBS nearly three months ago. An illustration of the great difficulties, and much greater expense, involved may be seen in the Progressives' bout with video. They used a crew of 24 to get their man before the television audience. One-third as many people would have been more than ample for radio, and they would have probably produced a radio show three times as good.

This year's political televising is in its experimental stages, but with talent, and boldness—and money—it can be used.

SAUL CARSON

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All in Favor . . .

Our officials expect to take the Berlin dispute before the United Nations Assembly soon to get an overwhelming vote approving our position and censoring Russia, hence strengthening our moral position in the eyes of world opinion. – *From the Minneapolis* Tribune.

Out on a Limb

Pressed for a statement on Latin American relations, he [Warren] said he thinks Argentina's government has elements of dictatorship. – *AP dispatch from Philadelphia.*

No Connection

Residents of a Northeast community have pooled their resources to coöperatively purchase a house to prevent its possible sale to Negroes, it was learned yesterday.

"This isn't just a racial question," [the trustees] say. "We are trying to keep it a decent, livable neighborhood and the racial issue shouldn't be stressed."– *From the Washington* Post.

Good News

There is no reason to worry about atomic bombs making men and women sterile, they [Dr. Joseph G. Hamilton of the University of California and Dr. Paul C. Aebersold of Oak Ridge] said: a dose that would sterilize would be enough to kill. – *From* Time *magazine.*

Big Game

It is now contrary to law to haul, ship, or otherwise transport minnows and other small fish out of Kansas. This restricting regulation was enacted by the fish and game commission at its May meeting in order to keep Kansas minnows in Kansas for Kansas anglers. – *From the Peabody (Kansas)* Gazette-Herald.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

RESORTS

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Will you give a dollar to stop a plague?

You have seen it happen.

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A speaker is silenced, a publication is banned. The plague of tyranny starts with little things.

Now, in this land that grew great on freedom, there are those who have turned against freedom.

Speakers *have* been silenced. Publications *have* been banned.

Of these, *The Nation* is only the latest, not the first.

It must be the last. You must see to it that it is the last.

* * *

What was our offense?

We published articles displeasing to the officials of the Roman Catholic church.

They were not anti-religious articles. They dealt critically—but soberly and responsibly—with the attempts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to exert influence in matters outside the religious sphere.

The facts of these articles have never been disproved. The opinions were no more than any man has a right to express, as a responsible social critic, for your acceptance or rejection.

And for this *The Nation* has been cast out of the public schools of New York City, of Newark and Trenton, N. J., and out of the teachers' colleges of Massachusetts, and from other places where this contagion of darkness has spread.

For this, the magazine that has fought since the Civil War for the great American humanistic causes, that has been a rostrum for many of our classic men of letters, and that has always defended the rights of Catholic and other minorities —this magazine has now been stigmatized as *unfit* for the young people of America's public schools.

* * *

Who is under attack?

It is not The Nation that is under attack—nor is it the survival of *The Nation* as a magazine that matters.

It is the right to information, the right to opinion, the right of the American mind to be free from control by any power group — whether clerical, political or economic — that are under attack. And these things matter very much indeed.

No institution in public life—neither a corporation, nor a church, nor the Government of the United States itself—has the right to stifle reasonable discussion of its public conduct.

That is basic in our Constitution. It is the heart of what we like to call the American Way.

And it is the real meaning of the fight to lift the ban on *The Nation*.

* * *

We are attacking this creeping plague, this conspiracy against thought, in many ways:

- First, through a campaign to familiarize the public with the deeper issues involved and to mobilize public opinion against the growing menace of thought control.

- Second, with the New York State Commissioner of Education, who has the power to review and repeal the ban.

- Third, through the formulation of a more acceptable set of standards for the selection of literature in the public schools with a view to their adoption. A committee of educators, writers, lawyers and other qualified persons is working on this project now.

- Finally, we shall go to the courts, if necessary—for a Constitutional right is at stake.

And because such activities involve many expenses, your dollar, or your ten dollars, or your thousand dollars will play a critically important part in our success.

Contribute what you can. Talk to people. Write to officials. Stand up for freedom.

For when the bell tolls for The Nation, *it tolls also for thee. . . .*

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You have my support in the fight to lift the ban. I enclose my contribution toward the expenses of the campaign.

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N. R.

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